Essays on Persian Literature

By
Prof. NAZIR AHMED

Edited by:
Prof. SHARIFUL HASAN QASEMI

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CONTENTS

Foreword

It is a priviledge and honour for me to present in this volume seventeen research articles of Prof. Nazir Ahmad, an erudite Indian scholar of Persian language and literature and really Dean of Persian scholars of our time. These articles on different themes exhibit the vast and varied academic experience of Prof. Nazir Ahmad in his scholarly persuits. His innumerable standard works on Persian language and literature, Indo-Persian culture and history leads me to the conclusion that he had been intensely devoting his scholarly energies to his academic work, research and writing. Taken as a whole no Persian scholar in India or anywhere in the Persian speaking world has a better literary and research output to his credit than Prof. Nazir Ahmad from the Muslim University, Aligarh.

Prof. Nazir Ahmad was born in Kolhi Gharib village, district Gonda in Uttar Pradesh on 30th January 1915 A.D. in a respectful family. After his early education in a small madrasa at Idgah in his village and Bangwan Government Primary School, he was admitted in another school at Maskanwan in 1926 A.D. where he continued his education upto metriculation in 1929 A.D. During this period, he proved to be an intelligent and laborious student and stood first at various stages of his early career as a student. This earned him laurals and scholarships. For his higher education, he shifted to Lucknow. He passed his Inter examination from Christian College. He did his B.A. (Honours) and M.A. in Persian securing first division and first position from Lucknow university. He also obtained his Ph.D. on Zuhuri's life and works from the same University under the supervision and guidance of Prof. Masud Hasan Rezvi Adib a reputed scholar of Persian and Urdu of his time. To further enhance his academic qualifications, Prof. Nazir Ahmad also did his D.Lit. from Lucknow University

for which his topic was "Persian Poets of Adil Shah's Reign." Not content with this level of academic persuits, he also obtained his D.Lit in Urdu on Nauras, a work on Indian music by Ibrahim Adil Shah.

Prof. Nazir Ahmad started his career as a teacher of Urdu and Persian in a Government Higher Secondary School at Dewarya in U.P. He was afterwards transfered to Government High School at Basti where he served upto 1950 A.D. It was during the same span of time when he got his Ph.D. and D.Lit. Latter on he was selected as a lecturer of Persian in Lucknow University. From here he proceeded to Iran for further studies at Tehran University. After staying for nine months at Tehran University and doing his diploma in Ancient Iranian language, he rejoined his duties in the department of Persian, University of Lucknow. In 1957, he came to the Muslim University, Aligarh as Assistant Director of a project on "History of Urdu Literature". Later on he joined the department of Persian as reader. Before retiring as professor of Persian in 1977, he served as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Head of the Department of Persian.

In addition to his formal duties in the department and the University, Prof. Nazir Ahmad has been active in a number of extra-curricular and professional organizations especially those designed to promote the study of Persian and Urdu studies. He served as President of All India Persian Teachers Association, Patron of Persian Scholars Association, President of Arabic and Persian Section of All India Oriental Conference, Secretary and Vice-President of Ghalib Institute, New Delhi. Apart from it, he has participated in many other congresses and conferences both in India and abroad.

A glance at his huge research and literary output, unfortunately not properly documented so far, speaks of his dedication to serve the cause of Persian language and literature with rare insight a wide range of knowledge. He has been able to publish more than thirty books, monographs and a great number of articles in

English, Persian and Urdu. In most of his works, he has dealt with unexplored themes and problems. All of his works have been recognised as of outstanding merit by almost all the concerned scholars of eminence in India and abroad.

Prof. Nazir Ahmad, as referred to earlier, has written on various aspects of oriental studies. His research output includes disciplering, editing eritically and introducing systematically the new material with deep and critical understanding of the subject. Prof. Nazir Ahmad's pioneering contribution and his principal scholarly research is in the field of lexicography. He has edited a number of Persian lexicons, some of which were considered to be lost to posterity, with such searching analysis that had earned applause from the concerned scholars of repute even from Iran. His penetrating assessment of the entries in the lexicons, their correct readings and comparison with other related sources to trace the chronological evolution and development of words has made his editions a specimen for others. At present, he stands alone in the whole of Persian world in this field.

Prof. Nazir Ahmad is one of the few scholars who have fortunately been able to discover a number of other important rare Persian works supposed to have lost. Diwan-e-Siraji, Lisan al-Shu'ara, Diwan-e-'Amid-e-Locki, Farhang-e-Qawwas, etc. were only referred to in the related sources. Prof. Nazir Ahmad has unearthed them from the shelfs of various known and unknown collections and got them published with academic precision and scholarly insight. Apart from them, he has also discovered the so far oldest dated manuscript of the Diwan-e-Hafiz of Shiraz. It has been published repeatedly from Iran. His articles on Hafiz in this collection speaks of his keen interest in introducing some such aspects of the life of Hafiz not explored before. In view of his extensive study of Hafiz and his works, he is proudly reckoned as a great Hafiz Shinas of his time.

In another article, Prof. Nazir Ahmad has traced the role of the Indian Muslims to understand and then introduce India and

Indian culture to the world. This article is the outcome of his wide range of studies in Persian literature.

A portion in the published Tarikhe-Baihaqi is missing. This could not escape from the discerning eyes of Prof. Nazir Ahmad. He not only deducted it but also determined the extent of the not available material. It was not an easy task which has been performed by our respected and learned scholar.

Prof. Nazir Ahmad has always emphasised the need for an extended perspective on the assessment of Indo-Persian literature. His works on Persian literature produced in India during the Saltanate period are a pioneer attempt of its kind. With his extensive and deep knowledge of the source material, Prof. Nazir Ahmad has introduced a number of hitherto unknown personalities of the Saltanate period.

In short, those who would have the good opportunity to go through the articles in this volume will at once agree with me how incisive and thought provoking these are.

I hope that the present volume would be received well by the Persian scholars and orientalists alike. Moreover, it would provide guidance and impetus to all concerned to embark upon the same kind of research projects accomplished by Prof. Nazir Ahmad. Let us all join in pray to the Almighty to grant long and healthy life to Prof. Nazir Ahmad to continue his scholarly persuits and provide guidance to us.

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THE ROLE OF INDIAN MUSLIMS TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING INDIA AND INDIAN CULTURE

The contact of India with the world of Islam is very old. The early contact was purely commercial but had great linguistic significance. In early period several Indian words were adopted in Arabic. Subsequently scholars started visiting Muslim capitals and other seats of learning. About 154 AH (771) an Indian traveller introduced into Baghdad a treatise on astronomy, a *Sidhanta* which by the order of the Abbasid Caliph al Mansur (754-775) was translated into Arabic by al-Fazari, the first astronomer of the Islamic world. The same Indian traveller had also brought a treatise on Maths by means of which the numerals called in Europe, Arabic and by the Arabs, Hindi entered the Muslim world. One of the most interesting mathematical term borrowed in the west from Arabic is Cipher or (Zero). The Arabs introduced it with the Arabic numerals into Europe and taught westerners the employment of this convenient convention, thus faciliating the use of arthmetic in every day life.

The Arab scholars also used to visit India quite early; while scholars from Persia visited India even earlier, for it is known that Naushirwan's Vazir Berzu visited India and brought from here many interesting things including game of chess and the story of Kalila wa Dimna. But the cultural contacts with Iran increased with the establishment of the Ghaznavid empire with its capital at Ghazna and subsequently at Lahore. Mahmud's several attacks on this subcontinent proved a blessing in disguise for several of his army men and others stayed in India; and this resulted in increasing the cultural contacts between these two adjoining countries. It was perhaps on this account that the best contingent of Mahmud and Masud's army was from India and one of the most well-known commanders Tilak was responsible for several conquests. It was during this period that al-Biruni (973-1050), the most original and profound scholar Islam produced in the domain of natural science, travelled through the North part of India and spent a good deal of his time here in studying Sanskrit and the Indian sciences, history and religion. His book on India

entitled" تحقیق ماالهند " is the most authentic and original work on Hindu religion, philosophy, history, geography and other related matters. It is so important that had it not been written or had it not been survived nothing substantial would have been known about India" Al biruni produced for Masud son of Mahmud an account of the science of astronomy entitled القانون مسعودی and another treatise on geometry, arthmetic, astronomy and astrology entitled التفهیم and both of which have some references to Indian sciences. But his earlier work named آثار الباقیه which deals with the calenders and eras of the ancient peoples, has a chapter on India. His another work on minorology entitled کتاب الجماهیر which forms the basis of all the subsequent writers, has occasional references to India. While his last work in Arabic on the matria medica entitled کتاب الصیدنه gives valuable information about Indian herbs with their names in several other languages. This book which has the earliest reference about tea, is full of Biruni's account of travels in Northern India. It was here that he learned Sanskrit and mastered various Hindi Sciences and Philosophy and preserved them to posterity. Most of the writings of this profound scholar have been translated into European languages; but except one none has been rendered in any of the languages of India, although he has written about India much more than any of the scholars of the East and the West.

Another junior contemporary of al-Biruni is Gardezi who has added a separate chapter on Indian religion and sciences in his *Zainul Akhbar*. He has based his account on al-Biruni's works but has certainly added new and interesting information on the subject. As the *Zainul Akhbar* has very recently been published in Persian, it has not been used by scholars interested in Indian studies. The book should be translated into English so that the scholars may have access to it.

Persian histories supply ample evidence of the presence of Hindu army in the contingents of the Safari rulers of Sistan before Mahmud Ghaznavi's time. One of the Hindu commander severally mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Sistan* as سالار هندوان یعقوبی . Even Mahmud had an army consisted of Hindus whose chief was Tilak and who conducted several military operations.

The Ghaznavids had much regard for the Indian subjects

which is fully borne out by their coins which were struck with Sanskrit legend. Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznavi who is considered to be too notorious had his coins struck with Sanskrit legend. Mahmud conquered Lahore in 418/1047 and gave it the name of Mahmud-pur. On this occasion he got a silver coin struck at Mahmud-pur on the one side of which was the *Kalima* and on the other side its transltion into Sanskrit which reads:

Av Yakta mekam	There is one invisible
Muhammada Avatara	Muhammad the incarnation
Nirpiti Mahmuda	
gin ayana Samvati	Mahmud the ruler

Mahmud's son Masud Ghaznavi had a coin in which seated in a Palanquin he is shown over Nandi with this Sanskrit legend:

Shri Samanti Deva

and it may be stated that all the rulers of the Ghaznavids from Mahmud and Masud to Khusrau Malik had some of their coins with Sanskrit legend.

Muhammad b. Sam (d. 602/1205) popularly called Shihabud-Din Ghauri had several of his coins with Sanskrit legends. In one of them on one side Lakshmi is seated, while on the other Sultan's name is carved: Shri Mad Hamira Muhammad Samay. In another coin, on the one side the Sultan is seated riding a horse while on the other side the name of the Sultan appears as Shri Mad Hamira Muhammad Samay. In another coin the Sultan is riding on a horse with Sanskrit legend, struct in the first half of *Ramadan*, the date being in Arabic:

منتصف رمضان احدى و ستہ مائة

Sultan Muhammad b. Sam had a coin called Daliwar on one side of which he is shown seated on a horse with this legend: Shri Hamira.

It may be noted that Shihbud Din Ghauri had several coins with Sanskrit legend, much more than any other ruler of the dynasty from Qutbud Din Aibak to Sultan Balban, though his period is less than several of them. Sultan Balban, though a strict ruler had also coins with Sanskrit legend. The reputed king Iltutmish had the following Sanskrit legend on his coin: Sultan Samadin Shri Hamira. It may be added that Tajud Din Yelduz Nasirud Din Qabacha of Sind, and Nasir-ud-Din Qarlugh of

Binban had some of their coins with Sanskrit legends. The Khalji rulers of Lakhnauti had some of their coins with Sanskrit inscriptions. It may be interesting to note that Muhammad b. Bakhtiyar Khalji of Lakhnauti had a coin stuck at Gaur both with Arabic and Sanskrit legends in Ramdan 601: رمضان فی شهور احدی و ستہ مائة . The Sanskrit legend reads: *Gor Vijya.* This shows that Muhammad b. Bakhtiyar Khalji conquered Bengal in 601 A.H. and not in 602 as is generally believed. Among the later Muslim rulers Sher Shah Suri is very conspicuons having struck a coin with inscription in Dev Nagari Script.

With the establishment of Muslim rule in India, the contacts between the two major communities became closer and stronger. Obviously the Muslim culture and Persian language no doubt had greatly influenced the Indian thought and culture. But it was not completely one way traffic. The Indian culture too had exercised some influence on the Muslims and their ways of life. Muslim scholars started writing about India and Indian culture and religion. Masud-e-Sad-i-Salman is pehaps the first Indian poet of Persian of the later Ghaznavids who wrote a poem on the type of what is now called بارہ ماسہ . This poem has its desired effect because the poem was subsequently initiated by the later poets and even was adopted in Indian languages. Masud has also written about Indian weather and has specially lauded the rainy season. He was a linguist equally competent in Persian, Arabic and Hindi, and according to Awfi and Amir Khusrau, he completed three Diwans of poetry, one in Persian, the other in Arabic and the third in Hindi. But the last two Diwans have not survived.

Very close to this period a poet of Hindi named Abdur Rahman appeared on the scene. He hailed from a country called Melchhdesh whose identity is shrouded in mystry. He is stated to have lived a long life and to have died in Ajmer in 1213 AD. Abdur Rahman is the author of a book entitled *Sandesh Rasak* which has recently been printed and which is regarded as a masterpiece of early Hindi poetry. It exists in three Mss and has been edited by Muni Jinvijaya with a detailed introduction by Shri Hari Vallabha.

The *Sandesh Rasak* contains 223 stanzas divided into three chapters. It contains the story of a woman whose husband was

living in a far off land and who suffered woes and pangs of separation from her husband. But after some time the husband returns home and joins her wife. Thus the story ends in a happy reunion.

After a lapse of about a century there appeared on the scene the greatest Indian Persian poet Amir Khusrau, a versatile genius who wrote on diverse subjects and in at least languages viz Persian; Arabic and Hindi. But most of his writings in Hindi are lost.[2] However he was a lover of India and Hindi and says:

ترک هندوستانیم من هندوئی گویم جواب　　　شکرِ مصری ندارم کز عرب گویم سخن

(I am an Indian Turk, I may write in Hindi, as I have no Egyptian sugar, I may not have discourse in Arabic).

Khusrau finds reason for his love for India and speaks how India is superior to Iraq, Khurasan and Khita. His first reason is that India being his motherland, is his heaven of peace. The second reason is that the Prophet (peace be on him) has said, "Love of one's native land forms part of the faith." To Khusrau India is in itself a world and puts forward seven reasons:

1. Adam first set his foot on the Indian soil.
2. India has the bird of paradise namely peacock.
3. Snake came down here from paradise.
4. When Adam left India, he was deprived of the choicest things.
5. India has abundance of scents and fragrances while Rum & Ray have less flourishing flowers.
6. India is the garden of paradise for all its blessed things.
7. Muslims regard India a paradise.

Khusrau prefers Indian seasons and weathers to Iran's. He puts forward ten reasons:

1. India's winter is not so severe.
2. Indian summer is better than severe winter of Khurasan.
3. No one is hurt by cold in India.
4. India has no autumn, so its gardens keep on blooming all the year round.
5. Indian flowers have pretty colours.
6. Even the dry petals of Indian flowers have some fragrance.
7. Khurasan has no fresh fruit like guava.
8. India produces Iranian fruits but Iran cannot produce Indian fruits.

9. Banana and betal leaf are Indian speciality.
10. Betal leaf is not found in any other part of the world.

In the قـران الـسـعـديـن Amir Khusrau has written many verses respecting the benefits of the betal leaf.

Khusrau takes pride in its vast store house of knowledge and arts and gives reasons for this:

1. In abundance of knowledge, India surpases all the lands.
2. Indians are gifted to learn other languages easily but the non Indians cannot easily learn Indian languages.
3. India played a great role in imparting learning and knowledge to the people of the world. But the Indians need not go out in search of knowledge.
4. India may take pride in its advancement in mathematics and in its introduction of zero.
5. *Kalila wa Dimna*, the most popular story, was originated in India.
6. Chess which is the most intellectual game, has its origin in India. It is an excellent past time for a sad heart.
7. The three productions viz arthmatic, *Kakila wa Dimna* and chess are source of knowledge and wisdom for the whole world.
8. The Indian Sarod has no parallel in the whole of the world.
9. The Indian melody strikes the very hearts; men and animal are equally affected by it.
10. It is the birth place of a poet like Khusrau whose equal the world has not seen.

India has been a land of so many languages and Khusrau finds this as the main reason for India's greatness. He enumerates the names of all of them. Of these Persian, Turkish and Arabic are foreign languages introduced in India and as such it is foolish to enjoy them. He being an Indian, enjoys the Indian languages. Hindavi has been the language of yore. The other languages have been used from ancient time and spoken by common people. But there is another language called Sanskrit so august among the Brahmins from the time immemorial. The common people do not speak it and are unaware of its beauty. To Khusrau, Sanskrit is second to Arabic but superior to Persian.

Khusrau proves the superiority of India, for so many varieties

of birds and animals which are found no where in the world.

Khusrau tries to establish India's greatness by describing the virtues of men and women, young and old, their fidelity, their morality, their heroism, their handsomeness, their generosity and benevolence. According to Khusrau Hindu faith acknowledges unity, existence and infinity. He prefers Hindu to Christian, Zoroastrians and star worshiper. The Christian places together the soul and the son, but a Hindu does not do so. The Zoroast- rians find the body final, but a Hindu has no faith in it. The fire worshipers have faith in seven gods but a Hindu has faith in the unity of God.

Khusrau was a staunch lover of his motherland and as such he prefers it to other countries of the world. This is his natural instinct. However, sometimes he puts forward cheap arguments to which one may not subscribe. But there is no doubt that India is a great country and its potentialities are very significant, and it goes to the credit of Khusrau who refers to some of these qualities.

During the 14th century Muslim scholars took keen interest in Indian learning. During the reign of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlaq (d. 1352) Sadr Ikhsitan al-Hindi completed his *Basatinul Uns* based on Indian stories. Some other writers also based their works on Indian fables. Firuz Shah Tughlaq was a very cultured monarch and one of his notable deeds was that under his orders several Sanskrit works were translated into Persian which resulted in popularising Sanskrit learning among the Muslims. One of such translation is Varhamiras' book on Astronomy translated by Shams-Siraj the author of a history entitled *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* which has not survived. The translator is certainly different from his name-sake who is the author of another history with the same title *Tarikh-i-Furuzshahi* available in published form.

During the Tughlaq period, Mulla Daud composed his *masnawi* poem entitled *Chandayan* in Avadhi, one of the earliest works in Hindustani which has survived. This was so popular in its time that according to Badauni the preachers would recite its verses on the pulpit. Its theme is Indian and it was dedicated to Tughlaq Shah's minister called جونا شاہ (1370-11385) as is evident from this hemistich.

جونا شاہ وزیر بکھیانا

The story is related with a town called ڈلمؤ still located in the Unnao district, U.P.

ڈلمؤ نگر ہے نورنگا اوپر نگر تہے بہے گنگا

Chandayan is the outcome of the inspiration from the rich heritage of Persian sufi literature. Maulana Daud was the first poet of Hindi who by dint of his poetic genius made sufism an integral part of Indian life and culture. The poem is based on popular love of Lorak and Chanda and is available in an edited form (1962, 1964).

Among the Mughal rulers Akbar had a very liberal religious policy. During his time the Hindu religious books such as مہابھارت and رامـــایـن were translated into Persian. The emperor ordered the translation of the epic *Mahabharata* which became known as *Razmnama* in 1591-92 and this was immediately followed by a translation of the *Ramayana*.[3] Badaoni who worked on the preparation of both the texts, was horrified by Akbar's such liberal policy and un-Islamic attitude as the prohibition on the eating of beef. He writes:

The origin of embargo was this that from his tender years onwards, the Emperor had been much in the company of Hindus, and thence a reverence for the cow became firmly fixed in his mind. Badaoni mentions the establishment of the translation Bureau at Fathpur Sikri. Learned Hindus were brought there to recite and explain texts, which were then transcribed into Persian, and books brought to the *Ibadat Khana* for discussion were prepared for the Emperor's understand- ing.

The *Ibadat Khana* was established at Fatehpur Sikri in 1075. Three men of different religious beliefs meet, and present their own points of view. Abul Fazl writes:

"At this time when the capital was illuminated by his glorious advent. H.M. ordered that a house of worship should be built in order to the adornment of the spiritual kingdom. A general proclamation was issued that, on that night of illumination, all orders and sects of mankind - those who searched after spiritual and physical truth." be respected equally.

During this period several great poets appeared on the scene who directed their energies to Hindi poetry which turned to be the exposition of Hindu culture and Hindu traditions. Of the host of such poets I may mention Khan Khanan, Jaisi and Kabir Khan

Khanan was a great warrior, a patron of poets and litteratures, and himself a poet and writer. He wrote Hindi poetry under the pen name of Rahiman which is still regarded as master-piece of Hindi poetry. The other poet is Malik Mohammad Jaisi whose *Padmawat* is regarded as the landmark in Hindi poetry. Kabir was a champion of the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity and a great reformer. His poetry, popular both among the intellectuals and the commoners, gave fresh impetus to Hindi poetry.

The Muslim poets of Hindi who conveyed the message of sufi philosophy through their poetry gave a new impetus to Hindi poetry. Of this class of poets the pioneer was Mulla Daud who was followed by a host of sucn poets as Qutuban, Gangohi, Manjhan, Jayasi, Qasim and many others. Through their poetry they promoted religious tolerance and communal harmony and their poetry is justly regarded as the best example of composite culture.

In the Deccan Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur was a champion of music and his book called *Kitab-i-Nauras* is a great name in the history of music and Hindustani culture. He was a Dhurpadist and brought about a change in Dhurpad structure by dropping 'Sanchari'. This new style became so popular as to attract Jahangir. On the occasion of Bijapuri Ambassador Bakhtiar Khan Kalawant's visit to the court of Jahangir at Ajmer, the Emperor was so impressed by the Adil Shah's skill in music that he ordered the great musician to sing to him the songs of the *Kitab-i-Nauras.* The Emperor further endorsed that the particular form of Dhrupad was the Adil Shah's own innovation.

But it is full of Hindu traditions. The songs in praise of Sarswati, Ganesh and other Hindu deities throw light on his liberalism and religious tolerance which earned him the title of Jagatguru. In order to illustrate this point I shall quote a few songs in which these deities have been noticed.

It is a description of Shiva who has a camphor like complexion with a crescent on the forehead and three eyes and the Ganges flowing from the "Jata Mukuta". The other emblems of Shiva are tridents, a human skull, the bull, the skin of the lion and the adornments from the snake.

بھیرو کر پور گورا　　بھال تلک چندرا　　شری منترا جٹا مکٹ گنگا دھرا

ایک ھست انڈنرا　　ترسول جُگل کرا

باهن بلیورد سیت جات گسائین ایسورا
کاس کرت کنجر پرشٹھ چرم ویا گرا

The Megh Nakshattra which is a season of heavy rains, resemble Ganesh (Ganpati) in all respects, the lightning is the tusk, the thunder is the bell and the rainbow the forehead of Saraswati.

p. 109 گنپت مورت هست میگھ مد بر کھت بانی
دنت دامنی گھنٹ گھور گھور منڈان بھال بدھوبانی

Most of the songs deal with Saraswati, Ganesh and other Hindu deites, which testifies to the Sultan's tolerance to a portion of the radiant face of Ganesh resembles the clear sun of the spring season, the spot in the face of the moon is an indication of the feeling of jealousy created by the show of his high praises.

گنپتی تم روپ کی تنگ جوت مانو سور جگمگے رمت بسنت
سودشٹ سادشٹ بھنی منوهر سنگھ دیکھن کٹھن سارك نین نیت

The appearance of Durga (Saraswati), the goddess of learning has put the sun to shame and so it is trembling.

بھنی ایسین لاگت درگا درسن دیکھت مانو سور پسیجت لجا سکو جنی کنبت
تھر تھر یا کارن گنپتی دینو مان ماتنگ p. 109

In many a poem Ibrahim has alluded to Indra's white elephant, the Airawat, his fairies, Apsaras, the ten *Rupas* of Rama, the burning of Lanka by Hanuman, the third eye of Shiva, Parbati and many other religious and mythological allusions of the Hindu religion.

Can history provie such glaring examples of liberalism and religious tolerance of a king at a time when his authority and power were at their zenith.

The Muslim rituals and even the institute of sufism have been greatly influenced by the local environments. The Indian Persian culture which may be studied on linguistic and lexical and orthographical as well as at literary and cultural levels. And it is on this account Indian Persian has not received its due at the hands of Iranian critics and linguistics. A native Persian cannot appreciate this beautiful line which is alluding to the custom of sati.

جون زن هندو کسی در عاشقی مردانه نیست
سوختن برشمع مرده کار هر پروانه نیست

(None other than the Hindu woman may be called chivalrous in

affairs of love for no moth can get itself burnt on a "dead" candle.)

The finest product of the Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis is Urdu language and literature in whose origin and development all the inhabitants of India irrespective of their creed, and religion, shared alike. The language has its verbs, pronouns, particles, connective etc. which form the main structure of a particular language, all Indian. Only in respect of nouns and adjectives the Indian element may not be more than 50% and even the major part of this 50% so called foreign element, has been taken from Indian Persian with which a native Persian may not be fully conversant. At the level of literature the Indian element is much higher than the foreign element. Urdu language is the custodian of the religious and cultural books of Hindu, Muslim, Christians and all other sects and even some of the political, religious, sectarian and communal fights have been carried through this language alone. Even the activities of the Arya Samaj movement were carried in Urdu, most of the literature of the freedom movement is available in Urdu. Urdu poets were the vanguard of this movement. In respect of the patriotic poetry, the balance may be titled in favour of Urdu.

Nazir Akbarabadi a 19th century Urdu poet, has intrעduced so many topics of secular nature and of camposite culture untouched before his time. These are some of the verses from his *Banjara Nama* giving a vivid picture of Indian village life:

ٹک حرص و ہوا کو چھوڑ میاں مت دیس بدیس پھرے مارا
قزاق اجل کا لوٹے ہے دن رات بجا کر نقارا
کیا بدھیا بھینسا بیل شتر کیا گونیں پلا سر بھارا
کیا گیہوں چاول موٹھ مٹر کیا آگ دھواں کیا انگارا
سب ٹھاٹ پڑا رہ جاوے گا جب لاد چلے گا بنجارا

جب چلتے چلتے رستے میں یہ گون تری ڈھل جائے گی
اک بدھیا تیری مٹھی پر پھر گھاس نہ چرنے آئے گی
یہ کھیپ جو تونے لادی ہے سب حصوں میں بٹ جائے گی
دھی پوت جنوائی بیٹا کیا بنجارن پاس نہ آئے گی
سب ٹھاٹ پڑا رہ جاوے گا جب لاد چلے گا بنجارا

کیوں جی پر بوجھ اٹھاتا ہے ان گونوں بھاری بھاری کے

جب موت لٹیرا آن پڑا پھر دونے ہیں بیوپاری کے
کیا ساز جڑاؤ زر زیور کیا گونے تھان کناری کے
کیا گھوڑے زین سنہری کے کیا ہاتھی لال عماری کے
سب ٹھاٹ پڑا رہ جاوے گا جب لاد چلے گا بنجارا

Some verses from one of his popular poem are quoted below:

دنیا عجب بازار ہے کچھ جنس یاں کی ساتھ لے نیکی کا بدلا نیک ہے بد سے بدی کی بات لے
میوہ کھلا میوہ ملے پھل پھول دے پھل پات لے آرام دے آرام لے دکھ درد دے آفات لے
کلجگ نہیں کر جگ ہے یہ یاں دن کو دے اور رات لے
کیا خوب سودا نقد ہے اس ہاتھ دے اس ہاتھ لے

جو چاہے لے چل اس گھڑی سب جنس یاں تیار ہے آرام میں آرام ہے، آزار میں آزار ہے
دنیا نہ جان اسکو یہاں دریا کی یہ منجدھار ہے اوروں کا بیڑا پار کر تیرا بھی بیڑا پار ہے
کلجگ نہیں کر جگ ہے یہ یاں دن کو دے اور رات لے
کیا خوب سودا نقد ہے اس ہاتھ دے اس ہاتھ لے

No other than poet except Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, has given a vivid feature of Hindu rituals as Nazir Akbarabadi. Krishna Kanhaya was his favourite topic. He has described his birth, his playing with the Gopis and his singing on the flute in several of his poems.

A few verses from جنم کنھیا جی are quoted below:

ہے ریت جنم کی یوں ہوتی جس گھر میں بالا ہوتا ہے اس منڈل میں ہر من بھیتر سکھ چین دوبالا ہوتا ہے
سب بات بتا کی بھرے ہے جب بھولا بھالا ہوتا ہے آنند منڈلے باجت ہیں نت بھون اجالا ہوتا ہے
یوں نیک پچھتر لیتے ہیں اس دنیا میں سنسار جنم
پر ان کے اور ہی لچھن ہیں جب لیتے ہیں اوتار جنم

تھا نیک مہینا بھادوں کا اور دن بدھ گنتی آٹھن کی پھر آدھی رات ہوئی جسدم اور ھوا نچھتر روہن بھی
سبھ ساعت نیک مہورت سے واں جنمے آکر کرشن جبھی اس مندر کی اندھیاری میں جو اور اجالی آن بھری
بسدیو سے بولیں دیوکی جی مت ڈر بھوسن میں گھیر کرو
اس بالک کو تم گوکل میں لے پہنچو اور مت دیر کرو

Some verses from the poem بانسری (flute) are worth quoting:

جب مرلی دھر نے مرلی کو اپنی اَدھر دھری کیا کیا پریم میت بھری اس میں دھن بھری
لَے اس میں رادھے رادھے کی ہر دم بھری بھری لہرائی دھن جو اسکی اِدھر اور اُدھر زری
سب سننے والے کہہ اٹھے جے جے ھری ھری
ایسی بجائی کرشن کنھیا نے بانسری

I shall now refer to a poem in praise of the Prophet of Islam by a poet Muhsin of Kakori which is full of symbols from Hindu philosophy and religion. It is note worthy that even Urdu Natsia poetry did not remain uninfluenced by Hindu religions.

سمت کاشی سے چلا جانب متھرا بادل   برق کے کاندھے پہ لاتی ہے صبا گنگا جل
گھر میں اشنان کریں سروقدان گوکل   جاکے جمنا میں نہانا بھی ہے اک طول امل
خبر اڑتی ہوئی آئی ہے مہابن میں ابھی   کہ چلے آتے ہیں تیرتھ کو ہوا پر بادل
کالے کاسوں نظر آتی ہیں گھٹائیں کالی   ھند کیا ساری خدائی میں بتوں کا ہے عمل
ابر پنجاب تلاطم میں ہے اعلی ناظم   برق بنگالۂ ظلمت میں گورنر جنرل
نہ کھلا آٹھ پہر میں کبھی دو چار گھڑی   پندرہ روز ہوئے پانی کو منگل منگل
دیکھیے ہوگا سری کشن کا کیوں کر درشن   سینۂ تنگ میں دل گوپیوں کا ہے بے کل
راکھیاں لے لے سلونوں کی برھمن نکلیں   تار بارش کا تو ٹوٹے کوئی ساعت کوئی پل
اب کی میلا تھا ہنڈولے کا بھی گرداب بلا   نہ بچا کوئی محافہ نہ کوئی رتھ نہ بہل
ڈوبتے جاتے ہیں گنگا میں بنارس والے   نوجوانو کا سنیچر ہے یہ بڑھوا منگل
تہ و بالا کیے دیتے ہیں ھوا کے جھونکے   بیڑے بھادوں کے نکلتے ہیں بھرے گنگا جل

This poem became so popular that several poets composed poems in imitation of this poem.

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1. An American scholar Mr. Walliam Sprenger formerly an Officer in U.S.A. Embassy, New Delhi settled in Colorado is in possession of a larger number of coins of Mohammad b Sam and the above information has been supplied to me by him.
2. However one treatise خالق باری a roof of Persian Hindi lexicon is attributed to him but some scholars have doubts about this attribution, the further supports his view in this line:

   جومن طوطی هندم ار راست پرسی   زمن هندوی پرسی تا نغز گویم

   (As I am an Indian parrot, if you truly ask me, you ask Hindi from me so that I may mroduce excellent verse).
3. Khan Khanan had a copy of the رامایں from the Imperial Ms. That Ms with 130 illustrated pages and a long endorsement by Khan Khananan is preserved in the Freer Galley of Arts, Washington DC. Ms. No. 07.271.

TRACES OF PERSIAN INFLUENCE IN CHINA AND SOUTH EAST ASIA DURING THE 14TH AND EARLY 15TH CENTURY A.D.

The Mongol invasion on Persia was the greatest catastrophe that befell the Muslims and Islamic civilization and learning. However, in a way it proved a blessing in disguise as it eventually contributed to the spread of Islam in India and in Thrace and Balkan Peninsula. This ultimately resulted in extending the area of influence of Persian language from Eastern Europe to the frontiers of Burma.

Some years back a friend of mine sent me a small treatise in Arabic published in 1960 by the Iranian Embassy, Cultural Office, at Jakarta, dealing with the traces of Persian influence in Indonesia.* In the meantime, someone sent me the impressin of a coin of some Muslim ruler or *amir,* perhaps of Indo-China, for decipherment. I do not remember what the coin actually was, but the name in which the coin was struck was Persian and this brought to my mind that Persian must have had some sort of early influence in those regions.

I was then busy writing an article on a Persian divine and jurist named Burhan-al-Din Sagharji who hailed from Saghraj, a small town in the vicinity of Samarqand in Central Asia, visited Baghdad several times and profited from the company of the saints there, performed his sacred pilgrimage and even visited Shiraz where he was held in high esteem by the rulers of Fars. His fame spread to India and Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlaq (*d.* A.D. 752) sent forty thousand *dinars* and invited him to come to his court, but Shaikh Burhan al-Din, instead of coming to India, proceeded to Cathay (China), settled at Khan-Baliq (Peking) where he was appointed as head of the Muslim community and was given the title of *Sadr-i Jahan.* As the actual title occurs in the original Arabic of Rihla-i Ibn Batuta, it is certain that this Persian title was granted by the Grand Khan of China. This prompted me to prepare a note on the traces of Persian influence in China. But it is a very wast topic, the material is scattered and widely diffused whose collection, sifting and interpretation require painstaking labour by a scholar or group

of scholars. However, in order to make a beginning I am presenting here the result of my casual study of the travels of Ibn Batuta and some other works.

Ibn Batuta, while giving a description of the city of Khansa (Hang-chow) states:[1]

"The *Amir* Qurtay is the principal *amir* in China. He entertained me in his palace, and prepared a banquet (their name for it is *tuwa*), which was attended by the principal men of the city. He had Muslim cooks brought who slaughtered the animals (in accordance with Muslim ritual) and cooked the food. This *Amir* in spite of his exalted rank, presented the dishes to us with his own hand, and with his own hand sliced the meat for us. We stayed with him as his guests for three days. He sent his son with us to the canal, where we went on board a ship resembling a fire-ship, and the *amir's* son boarded another alongwith musicians and singers. they sang in Chinese, Arabic, and Persian. The *amir's* son was a great admirer of Persian melody, and when they sang a certain Persian poem he commanded them to repeat it over again, until I learnt it from them by heart. It has a pleasant tilt, and goes like this:

تادل به محنت دادم — در بحر فکر افتادم
چون در نماز استادم — توی بمحراب اندری

"We returned in the evening to the *amir's* palace, and spent the night there. The musicians were there, and sang all kinds of pleasing melodies."

The Persian couplet corruptly printed in all the editions of the Arabic text may not be entirely due to the defective manuscript, because, we are sure, Ibn Batuta was conversant with Persian as is evident by the following observations:[2]

"I approached the *Sultan*, who took my hand and shook it, and continuing to hold it addressed me most affably in Persian, saying: Your arrival is blessed; be at ease, I shall be compassionate to you and give you such favours that your fellow country-men will hear of it and come to join you."

In Cylone (now Sri Lanka) Ibn Batuta coversed with the king of Cylone in Persian.[3]

When a Persian speaking girl was presented to him in

Maladiv,[4] he was pleased to have her as there was none else to converse with in a familar language.

The couplets incorrectly taken to be two have been rendered into English as follows.[5]

My heart given up to emotions.
Was o'erwhelmed in waves like the oceans,
But betaking me to my devotions,
My troubles were gone from me.

The couplets baffled the scholars for centuries till in 950/1328 solar the eminent Persian scholar Muhammad Qazwini could locate[6] the correct couplet in a *ghazal* from the Bada'i of Sa'di. It reads as follows:

تـــادل بـــمهـــرت داده ام   در بحـر فـکر افتـاده ام
چـون در نـمـاز استـاده ام   گـوئی بمحراب اندری

The *ghazal* is in the *Rajz* metere, مثمن سالم each distich containing مستفعلن four times. Ibn Batuta has also correctly pointed to the metre. Ibn Batuta has quoted only one couplet, but it is most likely that the whole *ghazal* or at least some more lines were sung on that occasion. I take the privilege of quoting the complete *ghazal*:[7]

آخـرنگـاهـی بـاز کـن وقتـی کـه بر مـا بگذری
یـا کـبر مـنـت مـی کـنـد کز دوستان یاد آوری
هـر گـز نبود انـدر ختن بـر صـورتی چندین فتن
هر گز نباشد در چمن سروی بدین خوش منظری
صـورتـگـر دیبای چیـن گر صورت رویش ببین
یـا صـورتـی بر کـش چنین یا توبه کن صورتگری
بـالای سـروی بـوستـان روئـی نـدارد دلستـان
خـورشید بـا روئـی چـنـان مـوئی ندارد عنبری
تـا نقش من بندد فلك کس را نبودست این نمك
مـــاهـی نـدانـم یـا مـلك فـرزنـد آدم یـا پـری
تـــا دل بـــمهـــرت داده ام در بـحـر فـکـر افتـاده ام
چـون در نـمـاز استـاده ام گـوئـی بمحراب اندری
دیـگر نمی دانم طریق از دست رفتم چون غریق
آنکه دهانت چون عقیق از بسکه خونم من خوری
گـر رفتـه بـاشـم این جـهـان باز آیدم رفتـه روان

گر همچنین دامن کشان بالای خاکم بگذری
از نعلش آتش می جهد نعلم در آتش می نهد
گر دیگری جان می دهد سعدی تو جان می پروری
هر کس که دعوی می کند کو با توانسی می کند
در عهد موسی می کند آواز گا و سامری

My arguement in support of more than one couplet of the *ghazal* having been sung on that occasion is that the couplet number 3 in praise of China's painting should have attracted attention.

The reciting of Persian *ghazal* and the popularity of Persian melody in China, as stated by Ibn Batuta, affords ample evidence to show that it was not a stray incidence. Persian language and Persian culture had deep roots in the soil of this far-off land.

Another significant poir.. to indicate the impact of Persian on the Chinese is the adoption of several Persian terms in Chinese language. As the topic is very intricate, a scholar or scholars well versed both in Persian and Chinese can do justice to this. However, for the present I shall refer to certain words which have casually come to my notice while consulting Ibn Batuta's *Travels* and some other works.

One word is *paswan,* a slightly changed form of پاسبان. Ibn Batuta narrating his entry in the town of Qanjanfu states.[8]

"On our arrival we were met outside the town by the *Qazi,* the *Shaikh-ul Islam,* and the merchants with standards, drums, trumpets, bugles and musicians. They brought horses for us. None rode along with us but the *Qazi* and the *Shaikh-ul Islam.* The governor of the city with his staff also came to meet us. So we entered the city. It has four walls; between the first and the second line the Sultan's slaves, some of them are day-guards and other night-guards of the city (and are called *Paswan*);[9] between the second and third are the quarters of the mounted troops and the general who governs the city; within the third wall live the Muslims and I stayed with the *Shaikh-ul Islam* Zahir-ud-Din Qarlani; and within the fort is the Chinese quarter which is the largest of all..."

Ibn Batuta, while describing the sixth city of the Khansa complex, has given the most useful information for our present purposes. As the desired terms have been passed over in the English translation[10]. I shall refer to the Persian translation[11] where

the original term "دست" has been put under inverted commas:
فردای آن شب از دروازه شهر پنجم که بزرگترین شهر های ششگانه و محل سکونت تودهٔ مردم است وارد شدیم- این قسمت بازارهای خوب و صنعتگران هنرمند دارد و پارچه های معروف خنسائی در آن یافته می شود- از صنائع عجیب این شهر طبقهائی است از حصیر که آن را دست می نامند و قطعات آن به بهترین و ماهرانه ترین طرزی بهم پیوسته، رنگی سرخ و شفاف بر آن میزنند.....

In the original *Rehla* (V. II, p. 168) the Persian terms have been used in this way:
و بالغد دخلنا من باب يسمى كشتى دانان الى المدينة السادسة يسكنها البحرية و الصيادون و الجلافطة و النجارون و يدعون دور كاران (درود كر ان) و الاصباحيصه و هم الرماة و البيادة و هم الرجالة-

The term كشتى دانان is the altered form of ز كشتى رانان similarly the correct reading of the second term meaning ستجارون is درود گران and not درود كاران: الا صباهين is سپاهي and پياده is . پياده

About the term صدرجهان and پاشا Ibn Batuta remarks: [11]

"The *Qaan* set him (Burhan-ud-Din Sagharji) at the head of all the Muslims who live in his territories and gave him the title of صدرجهان . The word قان is applied by them to every person who exercise the sovereignty over all the provinces just as every ruler of the country of Lur is called 'Atabek." [12]

The term صدر جهان is Persian, while *"Pasha"* seems to be a corrup- tion of the Persian "پادشاه" (see Gibb's Translation, Notes Chap. XI, Nos. 32 and 25).

While giving a description of the palace of the *Pasha*. Ibn Batuta has used a number of Persian terms which were applied to the various office-bearers at the court. His palace was situated in the centre of the inner city of Khan-Baliq (Peking), which was appropriated to his residence. Major part of it was constructed of carved wood, and it was excellently planned. As Prof. Gibb has given a description of the palace and its officials' Persian titles, I shall quote from the *Rehla:*[13]

و قصره فی وسط المدينة المختصة بسكناه و عليه ابواب فالباب الاول منها يجلس به الكتوال و هو امير البوابين و لـه مصاطب مرتفعة عن يمين الباب و يساره فيها المماليك البرد داية و هم حفاظ باب القصر -- و الباب الثانی يجلس عليه الاصباهية و

هم الرماة -- و الباب الثالث يجلس عليه النزد ارية (بالنون و الزاى) و هم اصحاب الرماح -- والباب الرابع يجلس عليه التغدارية) بالتاء المثناة و الغين المعجم) و هم اصحاب السيوف و الترسة و الباب الخامس فيه ديوان الوزارة ...... يقعد بها الوزير على مرتبة هائلة مرتفعة و يسمون ذلك الموضع المسند...... احداها سقيفة كتاب الاشغال...... تسمى ديوان الاشراف و الثانية ديوان المستخرج و الثالثة ديوان المفوت...... و الرابعة ديوان البريد و الباب السادس من ابواب القصر يجلس عليه الجندارية الخ-

The terms الجنداريه التغداريه النزدارية و الاصباهية و البرد داريه، الكتوال have obviously been taken from the Persian terms respectively as follows:

کوتوال	الکتوال
پرده دار	البرد داریه
سپاهی	الاصباهية
نیزه دار	النزداریه
تیغ دار	التغداریه
جاندار	الجنداریه

The Arabicised forms of the Persian terms used in China adequately establish the deep impact of Persian on Chinese. While commenting on paper currency Ibn Batuta remarks: [14]

'Twenty-five of these pieces of paper are called بالش (بالشت). The word بالش was very much in vogue in the time of the Mongol domina- tion in Iran and Central Asia. The Mongol historians such as 'Ata Juwaini, Rashid ud-Din Fadlullah, Wassaf'i Hadrat and Mohmmad Banakati have made frequent use of this term. It was both of gold and silver and weighed 500 *Misqals.* I shall quote a few instances first from the *Jahankusha-i Juwaini:-*

١/١٦٨ ردم روی بر ان نهادند و بالش می ستدند و بسیار آن بود که قرض نداشت و دیگر خصم بالش می گرفتند-

١/١٦٩ هفتاد بالش قرض جمع دارم...... تا این مقدار بالش تشریف دهند...... صد بالش نقد بدو دهند...... چو بالشها حاضر کردند...... یك دو تو مان بالش دید هوس بالش دارد-

١/١٧١ پنج هزار بالش بی تر دد و تثبت فرمود که بدهند...... اورا دویست بالشت فر مود تا برات نوشتند-

١/١٧٢ ملتمس پانصد بالش است که مقدار قرض منست-

١/١٧٣ اشارت راند که صد بالش و هزار سر گوسفند بدود روند

۱/۱۷۵ چهار هزار بالش اضافت آن کردند...... در و پیش را صد بالش فرمود
۱/۱۷۹ شخص مسلمان...... چهار بالش نقره قرض کرد۔

Rashidud-Din too has fequently used the term, for example:

در خفیه فرمود تا بالش نقره در موقع غسل او در آب اندازند۔
فرموده تا ده بالش دیگر از خزانه بوی دادند۔
خون مسلمانی چهل بالش زر فرمودند۔
از خزانه پانصد بالش زر بر سبیل بضاعت بوی دهند۔
از خزانه صد بالش زر بستد۔

In the تحریر و صاف (p. 284) on the basis of the *Tarikh-i Wassaf* (p. 506) the following information is available:

اکثر کالای ملك فخرالدین ازین نوع بود اظهار آن را مصلحت نداشت قآن تفحص فرمود گفتند مقدار چهارده تومان هر تومانی ده هزار بالش زر هر بالش معادل شش دینار باخزانه بزرگ معامله رفت۔

In the *Tarikh-i Banakati* we come across such statements:

اهل طایفو از شهر های ختای عرضه داشتند که مارا هشت هزار بالش زر قرض است۔

او را دو بیست بالش زر فرمود
فی الجمله شش صد بالش به آن شخص دادند۔

According to Prof. Gibb[15] بالش , originally an ingot of metal weigh- ing four and a half lbs, was the currency of Steppes at the beginning of the 13th century.

The term بالش or بالشت was brought to China by the Mongols. Another word is *Diwan*:

"The *amir* greeted me[16] and introduced me to the controller of the دیوان." According to Prof. Gibb دیوان does not exactly mean council but the institution commonly [17] known by that name in Egypt and North Africa. The term دیوان is so common in Persian that its use in the Chinese language may well be a pointer to Persian influence on China centuries ago.

A few other words and terms are:

1. صین کلان (*Sin-i Kalan*): "I asked him to send me some one to conduct me to the district of *Sin* which they call صین کلان ". The term, certainly borrowed from چین کلان is indicative of Persian influence. The term چین کلان is the exact translation of Sanskrit

مهـا چين. The last term is frequently met in Persian writings in the combination ... چين مها چين

2. خطا (*Khata*): The term خطا (Cathey) applied to the Northern part of China in contrast to صيـن (China proper) in the south was employed by the Muslim travellers and is derived from Kithay Turks who founded a dynasty that reigned at Peking during the 10th and 11th centuries. [18]

3. طـوى (*Tawi*) : "He entertained us in his palace [19] and prepared a banquet, their name for it is طوى "-

'طوى' is a Turkish word meaning marriage, marriage ceremony or feast. But it is commonly used in Persian. The following instances are quoted in the *Lughat Nama:*

برادرزادگان با تو جميعتی بزرگ ساختند و روزها طوی کردند

چون بحدود آلمالیغ رسیدند او رغنه خاتون به استقبال آمد و طوبهای متواتر کرد و دیگر شهزادگان باتفاق موافقت نموده بهارگاه در قراقورم همچنین طویها کردند۔

It is most probable that it was borrowed from Persian and not from Turkey.

4. برکاله (Barkala).

کسانی که پانزده قطعه از آن فلزات قیمتی را مالك باشند ((ستی)) نامیده می شوند20 -- و هریك از قطعات مزبور ((برکاله)) می نامند۔

It is not exactly known whether ستی is a Chinese word or has been borrowed from other language. But برکاله seems to be برکاله which in Persian lexicons has two meanings:

(1) Parts of things: Amir Khusrau [21] says :

من آب طلب کردم ازین دیدۀ خونبار
او خود همه برکالۀ خون جگر آورد

Siraj-ud-Din Qumri says:

دیده ام در غم فراق تو کرد   پر ز پرکالۀ جگر دامن

(2) A kind of thread.

The first meaning may be applicable in the above sentence. But in the *Steingas* پـرکـالـه has been stated to mean, a spark, a pane of glass; and پرگـالـه a little bit of cloth, rag, strip; the needle of the compass; a piece portion; a patch. But the Persian dictionaries such as *Jahangiri, Burhan, Farhang-i Nizam, Ghiyasul Lughat* use the word with کاف and not with گاف. However it is absolutely certain that the term used by Ibn Batuta is a Persian word.

5. آب حیات (*Ab-i Hayat*) : While referring to the law of China the traveller gies the following information: [22]

و یخترقه النهر اما حروف بآب حیات معنی ذلك ماء الحیاة ویسمی ایضاً نهر السیر (السرو) کاسم النهر الذی بالهند و منبعه [23] من جبال بقرب مدینة خان بالق تسمی کوه بوزنه معناه جبل القرود۔

"It is travrsed by the river known as *"Ab-i Hayat"* meaning the "water of life". Similarly another river is called The *Nahr-us Sarv* (also a river in India), which rises in some mountains near the city of Khan-Baliq called the Kuh-i Buznah, meaning the "Mountain of Apes".

The terms " آب حیات " and " کوه بوزنه " are purely Persian. Obviously these Persian names were assigned to the river and the mountain under the Persian influence. But one may argue that Ibn Batuta may have translated the original Chinese names. This does not hold good for the simple reason that the traveller should have translated the Chinese name into Arabic, the language of the book as well as the mother tongue of the traveller. The retention of Persian terms is sufficient to dispel all such doubts.

It may be noted that the word " جنگ " generally used in Persian in the sense of an anthology, is used in Chinese as the name of a type of a big vessel. The word " جنگ " no doubt meant a boat or a ship in Persian as well, equivalent to Arabic سفینه (which also means a book and a vessel). *Wassaf-i Hadrat* has used this word in the sense of a ship in this sentence: [24]

ملك معظم فخرالدین احمد از حکم یرلیغ پادشاه عادل غازان در سنه سبع و تسعین و ستمائه نامزد حضرت تیمور قاآن شد---- و منتهی اسباب سفر و مرتب مصالح جهازات و جنگها گشت۔

At another place Wassaf remarks: [25]

و پیوسته طرائف اقصی چین و ماچین و روائع بضائع بلاد هند و سند به سفائن بزرگ که آنرا جنگ گویند امثال الجبال تجری بجناح الریاح علی سطوح المیاه بد انجا متواصل باشد۔

The historian Rashid-ud Din refers to the "Jung" in his *Jami'ut Tawarikh* in this statement: [26]

"Large ships called in the language of China "Jungs" bring various sorts of choice merchandise and cloth from Chin and Machin, and the countries of Hind and Sind."

Obviously this word 'Jung' is originally [27] Chinese and has

subsequently come in Persian as well as in some of the European languages, for example in French it is *La Jongue.*[28] It is supposed that the word was brought to Europe by the Spanish sailors who got it from the Chinese or the J..vans in the eastern coast of India.[29]

However its use in the sense of a *bayaz* or anthology was quite late and the view of the author of the *Farhang-i Rashidi* that Khaqani used it in the above sense in the following verses:

خمخانه بدیده در کشاده کونین بمن گرد نهاده
هر جنگ زمانه فارغ الذات از بیست و چهار رود ساعات

is not correct. The word used by Khaqani is in fact جنگ –a musical instrument. The Persians commonly used the Arabic word 'Safina' in place of جنگ . Mirza Muhammad[30] Qazwini at first thought that the word سفینه has not been used in the sense of Bayaz but subsequently he himself discovered [31] it in the *KhasulKhas.* (p. 141) of Abu Mansur Sa'labi.

Ibn Batuta has used it in the sense of largevessel and has sailed in such vessels while he was on his way to China. He remarks: [32]

"The Chinese vessels are of three kinds: large ships are called *Chunks*[33] (Jungs), middle sized ones called *Zaws* (dhows) and small ones called *Kamkams.* The large ships have anything from twelve down to three sails, which are made of bamboo rods plaited like mats... When the time came for the voyage to China, the *Sultan* Samari equipped for us one of the thirteen *Jungs** in the port of Calicut..."

I think a careful study of any work on the kindred subject would result in multiplication of such examples. I therefore leave it with this conviction that some of my young colleagues would take up this interesting subject with fresh zeal.

II

Now I turn to examine some of the factors responsible for traces of early Persian influence on Chinese language and culture.

(1) The first and the foremost is trade relationship. It is commonly known that China had close trade relation with the lands of Islam and it was solely due to this reason that almost in each important city of southern China one would find a sizable

number of Muslim immigrants. During the 13th and the 14th centuries Iran was quite advanced in international trade and this is fully borne out by the various accounts of Ibn Batuta available in his *Travels*. The southern Iran specially *Fars* was saved from the Mongol onslaught which could continue as a great centre of Persian culture and learning as well as of trade and commerce. As the Persians, especially of the south, took sea voyages to China, they have left traces of Persian influence on almost all the coastal cities of India, Cylone, Maladiv, and even Chinese coast besides the islands of Java and Sumatra etc.

I shall quote from Ibn Batuta to show the position of Muslim merchants in various cities of China:

"In every Chinese city there is a quarter for Muslims in which they live by themselves, and in which they have mosques both for the Friday services and for other religious purposes. The Muslims are honoured and respected." [34]

"When a Muslim merchant enters any town in China he is given the choice between staying with some specified merchant among the Muslims domiciled there or going to a hostelry. [35]"

"The Muslim[36] live in a town apart from the others. On the day I reached Zaitun [37] I saw the *amir* who had come to India as an envoy to the *Sultan*, and who afterwards travelled with our party and was ship- wrecked on the *Jung*. He greeted me, and introduced me to the Con- troller of the *Diwan*. I received visits from the *Qazi* Taj-ud Din Ardbeli, a munificent and generous person, along with *Shiakh-ul Islam* Kamal-ud Din 'Abdullah Isfahani, a very pious person. Amongst the principal merchants who paid visits was Sharaf-ud Din Tabrizi form whom I had borrowed at the time of my arrival in India, and one who had treated me most fairly. He knew the Qur'an by heart and used to recite it constantly. These merchants, living as they do in land of infidels, are overjoyed when a Muslim comes to them... There was living at Zaitun, an eminent Shaikh Burhan-ud Din Gazruni who had a hermitage outside the town, and it is to him that the merchants pay the sums they vow to Shaikh [38] Abu Ishaq of Gazrun."

"In one of the quarters of this city (*Sin-kalan*)[39] is the Muslim town where they have their cathedral mosque, hospice and *bazar*. They have also *Qazi* and a *Shaikh*, for, in every one of the cities of

China there must always be a *Shaikh-ul Islam,* to whom all matters are referred (i.e. who acts as intermediary between the government and the Muslim community) and a *Qazi* to decide legal case between them. My quarters were in the house of Awhad-ud Din Sinjar, one of their principle men, of excellent character and immensely wealthy. I stayed with him for fourteen days, during which gifts were poured upon me oneafter the other from the *Qazi* and other Muslims."[40]

"In Qanjanfu...within the third wall live the Muslims; it was here that we were lodged at the house of their *Shaikh.*"[41]

"On the third day[42] we entered the third city, and this is inhabited by the Muslims. There is a fine city, and their *bazars* are arranged just as they are in Islamic countries; they have mosques in it and *Muezzins* we neard them calling to the noon prayers as we entered. We stayed here in the mansion of the family of Uthman b. Affan of Egypt. He was a wealthy merchant, who conceived a liking for this city and made his home in it so that it came to be called "*Uthmaniya*" after him. It was he who built the cathedral mosque at Khansa[43] and endowed it with large benefactions. The number of Muslims in this city is very large, and our stay lasted fifteen days."

The above quotations claearly show that there were large number of foreign Muslim traders domiciled in various cities of China who had generally a separate *Mohalla* with mosques and community centres with a *Shaikh-ul Islam* who acted as intermediary between the Muslims and the ruler while the *Qazi* decided the legal cases between them. They must have had separate system of schools for their children about which Ibn Batuta has said nothing. Most of these traders were from Iran and adjoining countries who had to invite Muslim scholars from Iran and Arabia to act as *Shaikh-ul Islam* and *Qazi:* as such they retained their connections with the land of their birth. It was through these domiciled traders that Persian was introduced to th land of China.

(2) The other factor responsible for infiltration of Persian words is migration of scholars, divines and saints with the two-fold objects of providing personal administration to the legal and religious affairs of the settlers as well as for preaching the gospel of Islam in that far off land. We have referred to the migration of a

very distinguished divine and jurist namely Burhan ud Din Sagharji who was so enthusiastic to go to China that he turned down the offer of the *Sultan* of Delhi to visit his court. Ibn Batuta while describing the bounty of the *Sultan* and the instances of his magnificent gifts remarks:

"Burhan-ud Din of Sagharj[44] was a preacher and *Imam*, so liberal in spending what he possessed that he used often to contract debts in order to give to others. The *Sultan* heard of him and sent him forty thousand[45] *dinars* with a request that he would come to Delhi. He accepted the gift and paid his debts with it, but went off to Cathay and refused to come to the *Sultan*, saying "I shall not go to a *Sultan* in whose presence scholars have to stand."

It may be added here that Burhan-ud Din expected to have rather fair treatment at the hands of heathen kings of China than from a liberal Muslim king[46] of India whose behaviour with the scholars was not so fair. This fully bears out the excellent character of the *Shaikh* who would prefer fair treatment to huge rewards at the cost of self respect.

As seen earlier, in Khan-Baliq the *Shaikh* was raised to the status of the head of theMuslim community and was honoured with the title of *Sadr-al Jahan*. It was at his house that Ibn Batuta stayed in Khan Baliq on the occasion of his visit to that city. [47]

The saints from Muslim lands, specially Iran, used to visit China. One such example is that of Shaikh Burhan-ud Din Gazruni who had his hermitage outside the town of Zaitun and the merchants used to pay the sums they vowed to Shaikh Abu Ishaq Gazruni (d. 426 A.H./1034).

"This Shaikh was held in high esteem both by the Indians and Chinese. Travellers on the sea of China, when the wind turns against them and the fear pirates, usually make vows to Abu Ishaq, each one setting down in writing what he has vowed. When they reach safely, the officers of the convent went to the ship, and as per the list take the amount of vow from each person. There was not a single ship coming from India or China that has not vowed thousands of *dinars* to the Shaikh. Any needy person who comes to beg alms of the Shaikh is given an order, sealed with the Shaikh's seal and stamped in red wax to this effect, "Let any person who has made a vow to Shaikh Abu Ishaq give thereof to so-and-so

much" specifying a thousand or a hundred, or more or less."

This statment shows the deep reverence of the settlers and mer- chants for Shaikh Abu Ishaq.

(3) Another significant factor is the exchange of legations between the Chinese and Muslim courts, specially Persian and Indian courts, where the official language was Persian. In all probability the letters from both sides were written in that language.**

I shall refer to one embassy sent from the court of Ghazan Khan (694-703/1294-1303) to the court of Timur Qaan b. Chin Kim b. Qublai Qaan b. Tuli b. Chingese Khan (694-706) in China under the charge of Malik Fakhr-ud Din Ahmad b. Ibrahim [48] with rich gifts and rare presents. After years of tedious journey the party reached the imperial camp of the Khan near Khan-Baliq and Timur Qaan received the embassy with such utmost respect and regard that he himself presented a cup of wine to the honoured guest. During his return journey, which again took a long time, when the party reached Coromandel coast in India, Malik Fakhrud Din died in 704/1304 and was buried in Ma'abar beside the tomb of his uncle Malik 'Azam Marzabanul Hindi Taqinud- Din 'Abdur Rahman.

The Qaan of China[49] had sent his embassy to the court of Sultan Muhammad B. Tughlaq with valuable gifts asking for permission to rebuild a temple near the mountains called Qarajil where the Chinese go on pilgrimage. However, the permission was not accorded but an embassy with richer and more valuable presents were sent to the court of the king of China under the charge of Ibn Batuta with Zahir-ud Din Zanjani as a fellow ambassador. This ambassadorial party was accom- panied by the Chinese ambassadors,[50] fifteen in number, along with their servants, about a hundred ment in all.

Such exchanges resulted in extending the Persian influence to China and elsewhere.

(4) The Mongol invasion of Iran under the leadership of Chingese and later of Hulaki was one of the most significant factors in introducing Persian culture throughout the Mongol territory inasmuch as a large number of Persian scholars, litterateurs soldiers and prisoners, both male and female, were

taken to the Mongol court. Some of the Persian scholars were raised to the highest position in the mongol administration throughout the countries under Mongol domination. Instances of such personalities are not rare and a perusal of the histories of the Mongol period, such as *Tarikh-i Jahangusha, Jami'ut Tawarikh, Tarikh-i-Wassaf, Tarikh-i-Banakati* etc. would amplify the list of such eminent personalities under the Mongol rule.

Even the distant land of Cathay was occasionally ruled by the Persian governors appointed by the Mongol Qaans. I shall refer to one such personality viz. *Sahib-i-A'zam* Mahmud Ilwaj, a noble attached to the courts of Chingese [51] (d. 626 A.H.), Oktai Qaan (626-637 A.H.), Kanuk Qaan (637-646 A.H.) and Manku Qaan (646- 659 A.H.) It is related that upon the conquest of Cathay during the reign of Oktai Qaan, Mahmud Ilwaj was appointed the governor of this newly conquered territory. Rashid-ud Din Fadlullah observes: [52]

قاآن تمامت ممالك ختامی را بصاحب محمود یلواج ترسا میش فرموده بود و از بیش بالیق و قراخوچو که ولایت او یغورستان است و ختن و کاشغر و المالیق و قابالیق و سمرقند و بخارا تا کنار جیحون به مسعود بیك پسر یلواج-

Mahmud Ilwaj was recalled [53] and replaced, under the pressure of Fatima[54] Khatun, a female Caunsel of Turakina Khatun, the wife of Oktai Qaan, by 'Abdur Rahman. [55] But on the accession of Gaiyuk Qaan, Mahmud was again sent to Cathay. Juwaini observes: [56]

و ممالك ختامی را بصاحب معظم یلواج و ماوراء النهر و ترکستان و بلاد دیگر که درتحت تصرف امیر مسعود بیك بودهم بدو ارزانی داشت۔

Mahmud had been in his post in Cathay even during the reign of Manku Qaan as is evident from the following observations of Juwaini: [57]

آنچه بلاد شرقی است از ابتدای اقلیم خامس از کنار جیحون بآموبه تا انتهای ختای که اقلیم اول است بر صاحب معظم یلواج و خلف الصدق او مسعود بیك برقرار سابق مقرر فرمود آنچه طرف ختائی است به صاحب محمود یلواج که سوابق بندگیها بلواحق هواداری مقرون گردانیده بود و پیش از جلوس مبارك رسیده و انبج ماوراء النهر و ترکستان و اترار و بلاد ایغور و ختن و کاشغر و جند و خوارزم و مرغانه را به مسعود بیك الخ۔

During Mahmud Ilwaj's stay in Cathay one Qutb-ud Din, the contender for the throne of Kirman,[58] was sent to Cathay to serve under Mahmud. 'Ata Malik Juwaini says: [59]

(قطب الدین) بحضرت روان شد و یکچندی ملازمت نمود فرمان شد تا بختای رود و در خدمت محمود یلواج باشد امتثال فرمان را مدتها بنزد یك او اقامت نمود و یلواج اورا بنظر پدرانه می نگریست و اعزاز و اکرام بتقدیم می رسانید و رعایت و حرمت او می کرد-

Wassaf has added[60] that on the accession of Manku Qaan, Mahmud Ilwaj took Qutb-ud Din to the court where the Qaan granted Qutb-ud Din the kingdom of Kirman.

The above details prove how Persian influence was penetrating this far off land through the Mongol court.

(5) The other factor respon ible for introduction and propagation of Persian outside the frontiers of Iran was the Mongol invasion itself in so much as the Mongol suzerainty was established in the whole of the greater Iran. This resulted in the establishment of Il Khani dynasty which lasted till death of last Ilkhani ruler Sultan Abu Sa'id in 736/1336. During this long period of Mongol domination over the most cultural part of the land of Islam with Persian as the language of literature and culture, exchange of Persian scholars from one Mongol court to another happened at a large scale. This naturally contributed to the intro- duction of Persian language. The Mongols had no developed language of their own, hence Persian was used as the court language by the different Mongol rulers. Persian scholars were employed by the Mongols to write the history of their political achievements with full access to the domestic archives necessary for the purpose. The result was that through such historical records, words and terms of Mongol origin[61] were introduced to Persian language for the first time. China too, was under the control of the Mongols. As Persian language and Iranian people were no longer alien to the Mongols, whether in Iran, Central Asia, Mongolia or China, it became instrumental in extending Persian influence to the court, but it had little contact with people at large.

(6) During the period under our consideration Persian had attained the position of an international language, for, it is a well-known fact that no other language of Asia or Europe was

spoken by so many nations and understood in so many lands. Thus leaving aside the domestic needs, at least for international purposes, no nation including China, could have easily avoided the use of such significant language of the world.

III

It would not be out of place to refer to some events indicating the traces of Persian influence in the coastal towns of India, Cyclone, Maldiv islands and those of Java and Sumatra, the route through which the Persian traders, scholars, sailors, merchants etc. passed on their way to China. The following quotations from Ibn Batuta's Persian translation would amply show how this language had gradually exercised its influence in these regions in many walks of life:

(شیخ شهاب الدین [62] کازرونی هم زاویه شهر (کالی کٹ) را اداره می کند و نذرهای که مردم هندوستان و چین را در حق شیخ ابوالقاسم کاز رونی می کنند باو میرسد قاضی کولم [63] مردی فاضل از اهل قزوین است۔
در شهر کولم [64] مدتی در زاویه شیخ فخرالدین پسر شیخ شهاب الدین کازرونی که شیخ زاویهٔ کالکوت بود اقامت کردم۔
(در مالا دیو [65]) کنیز کی برایم فرستاد که اسمش گالستان بود و معنی این نام گل باغ می باشد این کنیزك زبان فارسی میدانست و من خیلی [66] خوشم آمد در صورتیکه اهل این جزائر بزبانی حرف می زدند که من بلد نبودم۔
این سلطان [67] (پادشاه سیلان) زبان فارسی می فهمید و ازحکایاتی که دربارهٔ پادشاهان و کشورها برای او می گفتم بسیار خوشش می آمد۔
در این شهر [68] فقط یك تن مسلمان وجود داشت که ازا هالی خراسان بود۔
در بیرون این شهر [69] مسجد شیخ عثمان شیرازی معروف به چاوش واقع شده است سلطان این شهر و مردم آن این مسجد را زیارت می کنند و محترم می دارند شیخ مزبور راه نمای قدم گاه بود۔

An important family of scholars, settled at Shiraz was that of Malik-ul Islam [70] Jamal-ud Din Ibrahim b. Muhammad Tibi, the scholar and Amir of Shiraz (d. 706/1306). His brother Taqi-ud Din migrated to Ma'abar [71] and was appointed minister and counsellor to the king of the place and was given the title of Malik A'zam Marzaban ul Hindi, his full name being Taqi-ud Din 'Abdur Rahman b. Muhammad Tibi. He died in 702 A.H./1302. Jamal-ud

Din's son, Malik Mu'azzam Siraj-ud Din b. Ibrahim also stayed in Ma'abar with his uncle Taqi-ud Din, but when the army of 'Alaud-Din Khilji plundered Ma'abar his property was also destroyed; whereupon he committed suicide in 716/1316. The latter's son Malik Nizam-ud Din lodged a complaint with imperial court of 'Alaud-Din Khilji, in Delhi and had his loss compenasated. The Emperor was sorry for the occurrence as he had been on very amiicable terms with Nizam-ud Din's grandfather Malik-ul Islam Jamal-ud Din Ibrahim.[72] Malik-ul Islam's another son, Malik Fakhr-ud Din, was sent by Ghazan Khan as an envoy to the court of China who, while returning from the mission, died in Ma'abar in 704/1304 and was buried by the side of his uncle.

The influence of Persian in Java and Sumatra (Indonesia) merits a separate discussion. However, for the present it would suffice to point out the traces of this influence at the following levels:

(1) Persian names were not uncommon in Indonesia. Some of the names used by the kings[73] were like this:

عالم گیرشاه، علاؤالدین شاه، رعایت شاه، بهرام شاه، اسکندرشاه، فرمان شاه-

Some other names were[74] :

بختیار، رستم، کیانی، شهریار، کی نامه، شهر بانو، شمشیر، مرزبان، زر کش-

(2) Ibn Batuta found some Persian nobles at the Indonesian court in 1345-46 when he visited Java on his way to China:[75]

Bihruz, the Vice Admiral, Qazi Amir Siayid Sharif Shirazi, a scholar. Taj-ud-Din Isfahani, another scholar. Daulsah (probably Daulatshah), who was sent as an envoy to the court of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlaq in India.[76]

(3) Persian words used in Indonese:

Indonese	Persian
ایداس	آب دست
کندوری	کند کوری
بانغ	بانگ
برگیندان	برگندان

(4) In spreading Islam, more particularly *shi-ism*,[77] the Persians had their own share.

(5) The Persian names of the diacritical marks:[78]

پیش، زبر، زیر، were adopted in Indonesia with slight variation, such as, جیر and بیشد and سبر جی ایر and بی ایس.

(6) The Persian نستعلیق calligraphy[79] had influenced the writing system adopted for Arabic and Persian words in Indonesia.

(7) A number of Persian works such as *Taj-us Salatin, Bustan us salatin* and other prose and poetical works, were translated into Indonese language.[80]

(8) The Persian version of. [81] حکایت حمزه was adopted in the Indonesian language.

(9) Some inscriptions on the tombs in the North Sumatra and even in Malaya are in Persian. [82] But this aspect has still to be fully explored. Only one Persian inscription in North Sumatra has been recently located by Dr. H.K.J. D Cowan[83] on a tomb of one Naina[84] Husamud-Din which is dated Shawwal 823 A.H. The tomb in question consists of two white marble [85] stones one at the top and one at the foot of the grave; the latter contains the Persian inscription while the former shows an Arabic text.

The Arabic text is almost quite clear. The top vignette contains: لااله الا الله محمدرسول الله followed by بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم and then in seven lines the following text:

یبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فیها نعیم مقیم خالدین فیها ابدا ان الله عنده اجر عظیم [86] هذا قبر المرحوم المغفور الراجی الی رحمة الله نائنا حسام الدین ابن نائنا امین غفر الله لهم توفی فی شهر شوال ...... سنة ثلاث و عشرین و ثمانمائة من الهجرة النبویه.

Lastly the stone shows a marginal inscription of the *Ayat al Kursi.*

The Persian inscription on the foot stone is marginal; the middle is occupied by a sort of vegetable and floral decoration. The writing is very intricate, composition of letters and words quite illegible at the bottam and very much so elsewhere. Howevery it was by chance that Dr. Cowan found it in the form of a *ghazal* of Sa'di[87] quoted in the *Taiyyibat.* The lines are:

بسیار سالها بسر خاک، رود	کاین آب چشمه آید و باد صبا رود
این پنج روزه مهلت ایام آدمی	بر خاک دیگران بتکبر چرا رود
ای دوست بر جنازهٔ دشمن چو بگذری	شادی مکن که باتو همین ماجرا رود
خاکت در استخوان رود ای نفس خیر	چشم مانند سرمه دان که دران توتیا رود
دامن [88] کشان که میرود امروز بر زمین	فردا غبار کالبدش بر هوا رود

بر سایبان حسن عمل اعتماد نیست　　　سعدی مگر به سایهٔ لطف خدا رود

The full *ghazal* contains the following three more couplets:

دنیا حریف سفله و معشوق بیوفاست
چون میرود هر آینه بگذار تا رود
این است حال تن که تو بینی بزیر خاک
تا جان نازنین که برآید کجا رود
یارب مگیر بندهٔ مسکین و دست گیر
کز تو کرم فزاید و از ما خطا رود

Perhaps the limited space caused the exclusion of the three couplets which are otherwise most appropriate for the purpose.

Another place beyond Java on Ibn Batuta's route to China where the traveller finds traces of Persian and Turkish influence is Tawalisi, whose important town Kaylukari was governed by a princess called Urduja. The *Qazi* there was called بخشی . The inhabitants of this land were handsome and closely resembled the Turks in figure. The Princess spoke Turkish. When Ibn Batuta saluted her she replied in Turkish. I shall quote in original.[89]

فلما سلمت على الملكة قالت لى بالتركية (خش مسن يخشى مسن) معناه (كيف حالك كيف انت) و اجلستنى على قرب منها و كانت تحسن الكتاب العربى فقالت لبعض خدامتها: دواة و بتك كاتور (كتور) معناه الدواة و الكاغذ فاتى بذلك فكتبت فيه (بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم) فقالت ما هذا فقلت لها تنضرى (تنكرى) نام و تنضرى (بفتح التأ العلوة و سكون النون و فتح الضاد ورأ و بأ) و نام (بنون و الف و ميم) و معنى ذلك (اسم الله) فقالت خشن (خوش) و معناه جيد۔

"When I saluted her she replied in Turkish Khush-Misan bakhsi misan which means 'how you are'. I sat down near her and she had a liking for writing in Arabic. So she asked her attendants to bring "Dawat and batak katur" meaning inkpot and paper. So they brought it and I wrote: بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم. She asked me "what is it?" I replied to her, "Tanzari (Tankiri) Nam" and Tanzari Nam means "the name of Allah" اسم اللہ. Then she said, "Khush" meaning "very good".

Obviously the words نام and خوش are Persian and their prevalence in that region proves the impact of Perso-Turkish culture in that far off land.

The problem of indentifying[90] the King Tawalisi and his city

Kaylukari has baffled the ingenuity of all Ibn Batuta's commentators. Celebes, Tonkin, Cambodia, Cochin China, the province of Kwansi, the Philppine Islands and the Sulu Archipelago have all been suggested. Yule accepts the last solution as more probable than any other but only after confessing to "a faint suspicion that Tawalise is really to be lookd for in that part of the Atlas which contains the marine surveys of Captain Gulliver". The surprising detail in the narrative is not the existence of the princess of Amazonian characteristics, but her Turkish name, already given by Ibn Batuta as the name of Sultan Uzbek Khan's fourth[91] queen and her speaking in Turkish. Yule, followed by Dr. Von Mzik, suggests that the details of her prowess may be derivd from Kaydn Khan's valiant daughter Aijaruc, which Ib Batuta may have heard from ship's folk. Aijaruc is in fact a Turkish name, and it is quite possible that Ibn Batuta confused it with the similar sounding Urduja. In the same way Kayiukari [92] was the name of a seaport in South East India which Ibn Batuta may have confused with the name of Tawalisi's port.

Howsoever bafflng the question of location of Tawafisi may be, it does not, however, make any difference so far as our discussion is concerned. The region was certiainly influenced by Perso-Turkish culture, though the existence of such phenomenon may elude explanation for the present.

This is a brief account of Persian influence in some spheres of the activities of the people of China and some regions of South-east Asia. Obviously the description is based on very limited source material supplied by the foreign scholars. An exhaustive treatment of the subject is possible only on the basis of adequate material. The subject is intricate and may better be taken up by a team of seasoned scholars under a separate project.

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* The title of the treatise is:

حول العلاقات الثقافیه بین ایران و اندونیسیا

1. Gibb's Trans., pp. 295-296.
2. Gibb's Trans., p. 207.
3. Persian Trans., p. 660.
4. *Ibid*, p. 691.
5. Gibb's Trans., p. 296.
6. See the *Shaddul Izar*, p. 505.
7. *Kulliyat-i-Sa'di*, Farughi ed., pp. 771-72; but it is not included in the *Bada'i*

of Sa'di, Kawa ed., 1304s. Amir Khusrau's popular ghazal:

اے جہرۂ زیبای تو رشك بتان آزری　　　هر چند و صفت می کنم در حسن از ان بالاتری

is in the same rhyme and metre.

8. Gibb's Translation p. 291. The *Rehla* has two readings: البجوانان and الباسوانان (V. 2 p. 165).
9. Supplemented from the Persian Translation, p. 745.
10. Supplemented from the Persian Translation, p. 297.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 751-52.
12. Gibb's Translation, p. 298.
13. In the Translation it is Atabeg.
14. V. II, p. 169.
15. Gibb's Trans., p. 284, Persian Trans., p. 735.
16. Gibb's Translation, p. 369 n. 4.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 288.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 370 n. 11.
19. Gibb's Trans., p. 372, n. 25.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 295, Persian Trans., p. 749.
21. ومن كان له خمس عشرة سموه الستى (بفتح السين المهمل و كسر التاء المعلوه) و هو بمعنى كارمن بمصر و يسمون القطعة الواحدة منها بركاله (بفتح الباء الموحده و سكون الراو بفتح الكاف واللام) رحله ج ۲ ص ۱۲۔
22. *Farhang-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 882.
23. *Rehla*, V. II, p. 158. ·
24. It is the ancient name of the River Sarju, sometime identical with contemporary Ghaghara which flows in Awadh.
25. *Tarikh-i Wassaf*, p. 505.
26. *Tarikh-i Wassaf*, p. 301. The account relates to the coast of Coromandel (Ma'abar).
27. Elliot, *History of India*, I, p. 69.
28. See *Majalla-i Yadgar*, Vol. IV, Part 3, pp. 58-59.
29. Daurat, *Dictionnaite Etymologique.*
30. *Majalla-i Yadgar*, Vol. IV, Part 3, p. 59.
31. *Majalla-i Yadgar*, Vol. IV, part 3, p. 60.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 4, p. 70.
33. Gibb's translation pp. 235-236.
34. This reading is available on p. 235 but on p. 236 the word is spelt as Junk several times. As in Arabic گ is not used, Ibn Batuta was perfectly correct in substituting it with ك . But the alteration of چ into ج is misrepresentation of the original. It may be noted that in the French translations of the "Travels" the word is corrcely taken to be Chinese.
35. Gibb's Trans., p. 283, Persian Trans., p. 734.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 286, Persian Trans., p. 737.
37. Gibb's, p. 288, Persian Trans., p. 740. Some minor changes have been effected in the English translation.
38. It is Chuan-Chow-fu, 24.53 N., 118.33 E. Yule argues for the derivation of *Satin* from Zaituni (a kind of cloth prepared in this city). See Gibb's p. 369 n. 8.
39. Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Shahryar Gazruni, the great saint of Fars d. in 426 and buried in Gazrun. For his life see the *Nafahat ul-uns* of Jami.

40. It is identified as Canton.
41. Gibb's Trans., p. 290, Persian Trans., p. 742.
42. Gibb's Trans., p. 291, Persian Trans., p. 745. The latter mentions two names, the *Shaikh-ul Islam*, Zahir-ud Din Qarlani and the other Qiwam-ud Din of Centa with whom Ibn Batuta had associations in India (See Gibb's Trans., pp. 291-92).
43. Gibb's Trans., pp. 294-95, Persian Trans., pp. 747-48.
44. Hang-Chow, Khansa is derived from Chinese "King-Size" Gibb's Trans., p. 372 n. 22.
45. See Gibb's Trans., p. 202.
46. The same event is narrated at p. 298 of Gibb's Trans.
47. About *Sultan's* huge rewards to scholars, preachers and poets, see Gibb's Trans., pp. 201-203. One poet Shamsud Din Andkani was awarded one thousand *dinars* for each verse he had composed.
48. Gibb's Trans., p. 298.

** A perusal of the *Jami'ut Tawarikh* would reveal that there were Persian knowing scholars at the Chinese court specially employed in the *Dar-ul Insha*.

49. For details see تحریر و صاف , pp. 283-285.
50. The name of the head of the party is not available in English translation while in Persian it is given as ترس or نرس -
51. See *Jahangusha*, V. I, pp. 75, 84, 86, 90.
52. V. I, p. 503, also ref. to *Jahangusha*, V, I, p. 154 where the name is 'Aziz but at otherplaces it is Mahmud, see pp. 197, 199 etc.,; also تاریخ بناکتیس, p. 390, where the name is صاحب محمود بلواج .
53. *Jahangusha*, V. I, p. 197.
54. For her career see *Jahangusha*, V. I, pp. 199-202.
55. *Jahangusha*, V. I., p. 199.
56. *Ibid.*, V. I., p. 212.
57. *Ibid*, V. 3, p. 73.
58. For his career see *Jahangusha*, V. II, pp. 215-17, *Tarikh-i Wassaf*, pp. 289-291.
59. *Jahangusha*, V. II, p. 215.
60. *Tarikh-i Wassaf*, p. 289.
61. The best illustration is provided by Wassaf.
62. Persian., Trans., p. 653. This person might be related with Burhan-ud Din of Zaitun (p. 740).
63. *Ibid.*, p. 653.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 660.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 660.
66. From this it appears Ibn Batuta was conversant with Persian language which he should have learnt during his stay in India.
67. Supra 62, p. 691.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 692.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 693.
70. See *Tarikh-i Wassaf*, pp. 268, 507.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 302-3, 505, 507.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 646-47.
73. See Habungan Kabudajaan, *Indonesia-Iran* Iranian Cultural Office, Jakarta, 1960, p. 23.

74. *Ibid.*
75. See *Rahla* II, p. 152. Some tombs of Persians are scattered over different cities in Java and Sumatra, for example the tomb of Mawlana Ibrahim Kashani is in Garsih in East Java (see *Indonesia-Iran*, p. 3) and the tomb of Saiyid Hasan Khair b. al-Amir 'Ali Astrabadi in Sumatra who had died in 833, *ibid.*, p. 6.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
77. See *Indonesia-Iran*, pp. 9-15.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-259.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
83. See *Indonesia-Iran*, pp. 44-52. See the article in English under the title A Persian Inscription in North Sumatra.
84. According to scholars this is an Indian name and it denotes that Persian was introduced into this region through India. See the above article, p. 21, and *Indonesia-Iran*, p. 52.
85. Evidence is forthcoming to the effect that even stones were sent from India, *ibid.*
86. Qur'an, 9. 21-22.
87. Sa'di's popularity in China and in this regin deserves special attention.
88. کلیات سعدی *Taiyibat*, p. 602 does not contain this line.
89. The *Rihla*, V. II, p. 158.
90. See Gibb's Translation, Notes, p. 368 n. 9.
91. Gibb's Translation, p. 148.
92. Kaylukari or Kaylukhari was a town on the outskirt of Delhi on the bank of the river Jamuna referred to by the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Kabul ed. V. 1, pp. 456, 493, V. 2, p. 83. Amir Khusrau has also mentioned the town in his *Qiranus-Sa'dain*.

RESEARCHES IN PERSIAN IN INDIA; SCOPE AND PROBLEMS

India has been a great centre of Persian for many centuries. During the long period of Muslim rule in India extending over several centuries, Persian has been the language of the court as well as of culture. During this long period enormous literature on the life and conditions of the Indian people has been produced in this language. Historical works, *Tazkiras* of poets and saints, poetical compositions, stories and fictions, scientific and medical works, works on art of warfare, politics, economics, geography, geology etc. have been produced in Persian; and for centuries the administration of the country has been carried on in this language. When Delhi or Agra issued instructions to provinces in distant Gujarat, Bengal or the Deccan it was the Persian language which was the medium of the official correspondence. Enormous papers, *Akhbarat, Farmans, Parwanas* etc. preserved in the Indian Archives bear out the importance that the language had in the working of the administration.

It is a matter of utmost significance that in some branches of literature India has stolen a march over the land where the language is still spoken. We should be justly proud of the fact that the earliest work on Sufism in Persian, the *Kashful Mahjub* written in India, had inspired the subsequent writers who had chosen to write on this subject. Similarly, Muhammad Aufi is the first scholar who composed his *Lubabul Albab* in this subcontinent which served as a model for Persian *Tazkira* writers. The *Adabul Harb* of *Fakhr Mudabbir* is the earliest work in Persian on the art of warfare which was written in India and dedicated to Sultan Iltutmish, while the *Ain-i-Akbari*, embodying the statistical study of the period, is the earliest attempt at the computation of gazetteers and as such occupies an unrivalled place in the whole realm of Persian literature. Likewise, in the fields like Persian lexicography, Persian grammar etc. India's contribution stands unique. Persian epigraphical literature and archival materials are so abundantly available in this country that their proper assessment, decipherment and utilisation may by possible only through the collective efforts of a

team of scholars who would be required to work on the project for many many long years. Besides, the deep influence the language had on various cultural and literary institutions in India including its languages is an intersting study which the profound scholars of Persian alone can make.

Thus Persian has a brilliant past record in this country. This fully indicates the wide scope of reserarch in this language. There is at the same time no dearth of source material for undertaking research on any aspect of the language, its literature, history and culture. We have importnat oriental libraries which are full of original and unique MSS providing source material for any topic of research. It may however be emphasisd that these libraries not only contain MSS of such works as are Indian production but also MSS of works produced in Iran and adjoining lands. It is a matter of utmost importance tnat despite severe climatic conditions not suitable for the preservation of MSS our share in preserving Persian MSS is higher than the countries where the language is spoken. We have very old Persian MSS which have withstood the ravages of time. As far as my knowlege goes no Persian MS earlier than 5th century A.H. exists in the world, while the following five MSS of the fifth and early sixth centuries are known to exist:

1. *Kitabut Abnia*, Vienna MS., dated 447 A.H. in the hand of Asadi Tusi.
2. *Hidayatul Muta'allimin* Fit Tib, Bodleian MS., dated 478 A.H.
3. *Tarjumanul Balagha*, Turkey MS., dated 507 A.H.
4. Another copy of the *Hidayatul Muta'allimin* Fit Tib, Istanbul MS., dated 510 A.H.
5. A part of the commentary on the Quran by Khusrau Pasha, Turkey MS., not dated but apparently 400[1] A.H.

In other words, of these five, three MSS are available in Turkey, one in Vienna, one in U.K. and none in Iran or Afghanistan. But it is very gratifying that in this subcontinent alone three or four MSS have recently been located whose transcription goes back to as early as the fifth and early sixth centuries. They are as follows;

1. *Sharh-i-Ta'ruf*, MS. in the private collection of Sayyid Fazl Samadan, Peshawar, dated 473 A.H. The Afghan Scholar Prof. Abdul Hayy Habibi claims that it should in a way be regarded as

the earliest Persian MS.

2. A part of a commentary on the Quran, Lahore University MS., not dated but apparently not later than the middle of the fifth century A.H.

3. *Wamiq Wa Azra-i-Unsuri*, a part discovered by the late Prof. Shafi in the binding of another early MS., not dated but not later than 6th century.

4. *Swanihul Ushshaq* of Ahmad Ghazzab, Rampur MS., dated 507 A.H.

What I want to emphasise is that Indian Oriental libraries are very rich in respect of important Persian MSS which may ensure original research work in Persian. Besides a considerable number of private collections scattered all over this sub-continent, some of the most important libraries of Persian MSS are as follow:

1. Khuda Bakhsh Khan Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, Patna.
2. Rampur Reza Library, Rampur.
3. Muslim University Library, Aligarh.
4. State Library (formerly Asafia Library), Hyderabad.
5. Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad.
6. Osmania University Library, Hyderabad.
7. Government Oriental MSS. Library , Madras.
8. Bombay University Library, Bombay.
9. Nadwatul 'Ulama Library, Lucknow.
10. Cama Institute Library, Bombay.
11. Irwan Sahib Bagh Library, Madras.
12. National Museum, Delhi.
13. Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
14. Buhar Collection, National Library, Calcutta.
15. Hamidia College Library, Bhopal.
16. Raja Sahib Mahmudabad Library, Lucknow.
17. Panjab University Library, Lahore.
18. M.A. Arabic and Persian Research Institute Library, Tonk.
19. National Archives Library, New Delhi.
20. Saulat Public Library, Rampur.
21. Zakir Husain Library, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi.
22. Public Library, Patiala, Punjab.

23. Jamia Hamdard Library, New Delhi.

We have in this sub-continent a considerable number of universities where research work in Persian has been conducted for quite some time, such as Aligarh, Allahabad, Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad, Lucknow, Kashmir & Patna in India, and Lahore in Pakistan.

It may be noted that our research traditions are older than those of the Iranians and our research productions are at least numerically superior to the latter's, for the obvious reason that in Iran there are only a few universities and they too are very recent. The post-graduate studies in Persian are confined to a few universities and the number of students offering research course is much less than the Indian students. The case of Afghanistan is uniqe in this respect. There is only one university that started Post-grauation in Persian only this year while in India only in the Kashmir State the number of post-grauation students in Persian exceeds two hundred annually. In order to popularise the study of Persian, the U.G.C. offers separately scholarships to post-graduate students, and those enrolled for research in Persian get their proportionate share in the considerable number of scholarships both at the Ph.D. and post-doctoral levels. Such facilities do not exist in Iran.

Due to the old traditon of research in this country and the close association of the scholars of this country with the research activities in the Western countries, the research production of this sub-continent had been of a very high order. A number of the Indian scholars of Persian were trained in U.K., Germany and other Western countries, by the best scholars and had thus acquired laudable research traditions.

At any rate, amongst the various Indian scholars of Persian some scholars associated with the Oriental College, Lahore produced outstanding works in Persian which earned for them wide reputation in the Persian world. One of the most illustrious figures is Prof. Mahmud Shirani who added new dimensions to Persian researches in India. Through his analytical and scientific approach he set new models for future research works. The fields covered by him are so wide and extensive that the future research workers may successfully confine their activities in those fields for many

years. I shall refer to some of Shirani's masterpieces;-

1. Four Discourses on Firdausi: Of those four articles the one on the authenticity of the authorship of the Masnawi *Yusuf Zulaikha* to Firdausi is a clear exposition of his scientific treatment of the subject. The author has based his arguments only on internal sources and categorically proved that *Yusuf Zulaihka* can in no case be attributed to one who is the author of the *Shahnama*, for the words, phrases, technical terms, similes and metaphors of the one basically differ from the other. This was a major literary breakthrough. The theory propounded by Shirani has been substantiated by the subsequent scholars of the world. The other equally important discourse deals with the genuineness or otherwise of the so called Firduasi's satire on Mahmud of Ghazna. After weighing all the evidences he has concluded that without the slightest doubt the existing verses of the satire are spurious. Even if we accept that Firdausi wrote the satirical verses, those available today can in no case be identical with them. Shirani's view has not been fully accepted all over the world. But a recent linguistical study of the *Shahnama* and the existing verses of the satire has led Dr. Jafar Muin Fur of Tehran and Dr. Rawan Farhadi of Afghanistan to conclude that the verses of the satire are spurious.

2. His another work, *Tanqid-i-Shirul Ajam* is a very sober criticism of the factual errors crept in the much renowned work of Maulana Shibli entitled *Shirul Ajam*. Prof. Shirani in the course of his researches has brought to light some unknown facts of history. He has for the first time proved that some of the poems ascribed to Rudaki belong to Qatran and the subsequent editions of Qatran's diwan substantiated Shirani's point of view. Similarly a poet by the name of Tajud-Din Reza was mentioned in Persian *Tazkiras* with very few specimens of his compositions. It was Prof.Shirani who picked out a number of his *qasidas* somehow intermixed with those of Anwari's and included in the latter's Diwan, and established once for all that the attribution of those poems to Anwari was untenable.

Prof. Shirani published research articles of very high standard. In one of these he has established that what is passed for the Diwan of Hazrat Muinud-Din Chishti of Ajmer is nothing but the Diwan of a later Persian poet and scholar Muinud-Din who wrote

under the pen-name Miskin, and some of the poems of the Diwan were really quoted in other works of the scholar under his own name. This was another very significant literary achievement of Prof. Shirani.

Another scholar of the Lahore school who needs a brief mention here is Prof. Mohammad Shafi, Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore and the editor of the most reputed research Journal, the Oriental College Magazine. Under his editorship the said journal achieved the highest and loftiest position in the realm of Persian. Besides, his editions of the *Tazkira-i-Maikhana* and *Maktubat-i-Rashidi* may serve as models for textual research in Persian. And his discovery of the *Wamiq wa Azra-i-Unsuri* may be regarded as one of the greatest literary achievements of the present century. His notes serving as supplements to the various volumes of the Oriental College Magazine give new dimension to Persian researches.

The lines of research shown and the method of treatment adopted by these two outstanding scholars of Lahore are sufficient to guide our research scholars for many many long years.

A third scholar of the Panjab University viz. Dr. Mohammad Iqbal had earned a name in the field of Persian textual edition. He has edited Rawandi's *Rahatus-Sudur* with such ability as to attract the attention of the world renowned scholar Mirza Mohammad Qazwini, who reviewed the book in one of his articles forming one of the discourses of the *Bist Maqala-i-Qazwini*. He reg..rds this edition as one of the best models of critical editon of a Persian text. Some other Indian scholars of Persian who made notable contribution to Persian researches are Prof. Hadi Hasan of Aligarh, Prof. Abdus Sattar of Allahabad, Qazi Abdul Wadood of Patna, Dr. Mohammad Ishaq of Calcutta, Prof. Masud Hasan and Dr. Wahid Mirza of Lucknow, Prof. Abdul Qadir Sarfraz of Bombay, Maulana Umam, Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi and many others.

I may not dilate on this point any more. My thesis is that the scope of research in Persian is very wide. The Persian literature produced in India is so extensive that it would need for centuries the patience of a team of scholars for their proper study. There is need for examining the extent and impact of Persian influence on

many literary and cultural institutions in India. As we have rich collections of Persian books and MSS and a noble tradition of research, we can undertake research projects without much difficulty. But it may painfully be noted that the standrd of teaching and research in Persian is declining gradually. The number of research workers is increasing day by day but the production is generally of very low standard. The quantity increases at the cost of quality which is a very dangerous sign. We have to examine the question dispassionately and critically. I am however conscious of the fact that this may be the result of international phenomenon of general apathy towards the disciplines of humanities specially the eastern languages, and as such the question is not to be solved in isolation, but we have to look at the serious problem very cautiously and examine some of the relevant points in our own way.

It is a sad commentary that good students do not offer Persian on the pretext that Persian in India has no prospects. This is a grave misunderstanding and the sooner it is removed the better. Persian has influenced Indian life in its varied forms, and after independence there has been a general awakening among the people to examine and analyse the indigenous elements in the Indian culture and collect the objects of the cultural heritage of India; there has been great demand for such students of Persian who may assist in the fulfilment of the national objectives. Such Persian scholars are in great demand as may be useful in the procurement of antiques, paintings, illustrated, old and unique MSS, calligraphic specimens etc., etc. Schemes are being prepared to collect and analyse archival material and to decipher and examine the epigraphical material scattered all over India. Similarly research schemes are being submitted for examining the Persian influence on various Indian languages. The success of these schemes and projects depends very much on the availability of competent Persian scholars. In medieval architecture, Persian has its own share, for the examination and analysis of which Persian students are in demand, while it goes without saying that all the original works on medieval history are in Persian and mostly in an unedited form. They need authoritative edition and dependable translation. This is in addition to what we call general Persian literature which

is the exclusive field of Persian scholars themselves. A perusal of all this will answer satisfactorily to those who have apprehensions about the utility of the subject and its future prospects. I have no doubt in my mind that few subjects in humanities have such bright prospects as Persian has. What is needed most is to prepare good students and to produce sound scholars. But if we take account of our stock we are completely disappointed. Our students most of whom are unable to understand a little difficult text would mostly fail to settle historical or literary text, to decipher epigraphical material, to analyse archival documents, to determine the age of the MS., to discover the artistic value of calligraphic specimens and to examine the characteristics of illustrated MSS etc.

What is needed most is to attract good students to offer the subject and to frame syllabi in such a way that our students be competent to undertake research on a subject of literature or culture. At present our courses are literature biased with the result that our students are unable to undertake research on a topic dealing with history, philosophy, mysticism, art, calligraphy, paleography, ethics etc., and in the modern age subjects like epigraphy, archival study, paleography and history have gained supreme importance; but our students being less competent to fulfil the needs naturally the vacuum is filled by those who are alien to Persian. This is high time that we should realise the situation and accept with boldness the challenge of the time. The courses should be framed just as the contingencies of time demand. The overburdening of syllabuses with high sounding literary works would fail to produce the desired results.

With the decline of the standard of the students the quality of teacher is bound to suffer and the defect has already set in. And it is a sad confession that the apathy of some of those associated with the teaching of the subject has deprived it of some of its dynamic qualities.

However, our teachers have some limitations. They get very few opportunities to have their knowledge refreshed. Previously a good number of senior teachers of Persian had got their training in research in Western countries under renowned scholars. But we have no such contacts now. We have no doubt developed academic contacts with Iran and Afgahnistan which has tipped the

scales in favour of modern and current Persian. It is a healthy sign which is bound to make our teaching in a way more meaningful; but contact with Iran has not boosted our research programme for the obvious reason that the standard of research in Iran too is towards decline.

Now I shall refer to certain practical difficulties faced by our research workers. As there is no coordination amongst the various scholars and research institutions, often there is duplication and triplication of work, the same topic being investigated at more than one centre. In order to avoid this the following steps should be taken:

1. A complete list of the topics on which research has been completed, or is in the process of completion be prepared. This should be annually revised.
2. A bio-bibliographical work is to be done on the pattern of C.A. Storey's Persian literature. For this the cooperation of the scholars all over the world is needed.
3. Catalologues of all collections be prepared and printed.
4. A complete catalogue of printed books should be made available.
5. Complete index of research papers published in varions journals be prepared. Index Islamics by Iraj Afshar (two volumes), A bibliography of Iran by Dr. Nawai (two volumes), Bibliography of Shah Nama by Iraj Afshar are works on proper line. The attempt should continue.
6. Indexes of research papers that are in the process of publication in any quarter of the world are to be prepared on the pattern of science subjects. This huge task can not be taken up without the active cooperation of the research scholars all over the world and the support of an international agency.
7. Rush in research admission be avoided; only those gifted with research aptitude should be selected for research work. Mushroom growth of scholars and poor quality of research production defeat the very purpose. A seasoned teacher without a research degree having full understanding of his subject is much more fruitful than a teacher possessing research degree with very limited and specialised knowledge. The direction of the U.G.C. enjoining upon teachers of universities to possess Ph.D. degree is not well con-

ceived in so much as most of the subjects of Humanities is concerned.

8. The supervisors of the research work have to be more vigilant and examiners of the theses less liberal in their recommendation of the award of the degrees. A pre-doctorate intensive course treating of the research methodology would be very much useful.

9. Obviously the research degree is not an end in itself; the research scholar should be trained in such a way as he himself may be able to guide the scholars in future. The topic of the research should aim at developing research acumen in the scholars.

10. Establishment of Persian research academy or a centre of advanced research intended to boost up our research activities is necessary. The academy should provide guidance for research workers and evolve a scheme of coordination amongst various scholars attached with the various institutions all over the sub-continent. It should institute fellowship for outstanding scholars who along with their independent work provide guidance to junior research scholars. It should establish a strong central research library and documentation centre, and publish research journal dealing with the problems of research on the pattern of the Rahnuma-i-Kitab, Tehran.

I think the time has come when all those associated with Persian should sit together and discuss the matter in full depth and chalk out detailed programme for boosting the research activities on the general lines suggested above. I am sure that if effective steps are taken the declining trend would necessarily stop and our research workers would enter the field with fresh energy and renewed vigour.

Foot Note

1. The situation has now changed for the system of awarding the scholarship by U.G.C. has entirely changed. (S.N.Q.)

THE EARLIEST PERSIAN WORK COMPLETED IN GUJARAT

The earliest or to be more accurate one of the earliest works completed in Gujarat is the translation of an Arabic work entitled *al-Faraj ba'd ash shidda* (الفرج بعد الشده) of[1] Qazi Tanukhi (d. 384 A.H.) by the eminent scholar and writer Muhammad Awfi Bukharai, the author of the *Lubabul Albab*[2] and the Jawami-ul-Hikayat.[3] Awfi is stated to have completed the translation about 620-21 A.H. and was dedicated to *the ruler of Uchacha and Multan, Nasiruddin Qabacha* to whose illustriousVazir Ainul Mulk[4] Ashariwas dedicated the reputed *Lubabul Albab* composed about three or four years earlier.

The translator says in the preface of the translation.[5]

قدر فرمان ملک معظم خسرو اعظم مالک رتاب امم مولی مدوك الترك و العجم ناصر الدنیا والدین غیاث الاسلام والمسلمین اعدل الملوك و اکرم السلاطین سلطان ارض الله ناصر عبادالله حافظ بلاد الموئد بنصرالله محرز ممالك الدنیا مظهر العلیا ابوالفتح قباچه السلطانی قسیم [6] امیرالمومنین اعلی اله شانه واظهر برهانه۔

یك نصف از ترجمهٔ کتاب الفرج بعد الشدة پرداخته شد و عروس زیبای لطایف و حکایات آن را از پس پردهٔ تتق عبارت عربیت بر نظر خاطبان افاضل عجم جلوه داد و نصف دیگر ابتدا کرده شد و چون با تمام پیوندد باقبال روز افزون این پادشاه مسلاهٔ هموم و غمگسار مهجوران مغموم گردد ایزد تعالی امداد و مودت و تائید را هنما و قرین رای و رایت این پادشاه جهان پناه وا راد و حضرت اعلی را محل ورود دولت و خود نصرت قرین باد بحق محمد و آله۔

About its composition at Cambay (Kambayat) at present in the Kera district of Gujarat & the date of its composition about 620-21, the evidence is provided by a friend and contemporary of Awfi himself called Muhammad b. Umar b. Muhammad Samarqandi in a note apearing in the India Office MS. 1432 (Catalogue No. 737) foll. 456^{b}–459^{a}. This Samarqandi happened to visitKambayat where Awfi was appointed as a Qazi by Nasiruddin Qabacha and where the unauthorised translation was coined by the above mentioned Samarqandi and kept in secret and, later on collected by him from the authors original copy once more the

note runs as follows:

فصل، باز نماید اصغر العبید محمد بن عمر بن محمد سمرقندی که کاتب الفرج بعد الشدة است بر رای عالم آرای خداوند عالم--- ناصر الدنیا والدین --- ابالفتح قباچه --- که بنده بحکم و قایع ایام و حوادث روزگار ازین حضرت با جلال لایزال محفوفته بالعزوالاقبال بطرف نهروالا و حدود سواحل دریای محیط افتاد بموضعی که آن را کنبایت می خوانند قاضی امام اگزا خص امجد اشرف سدید الملك والدین ظهر الاسلام والمسلمین واعظ الملوك و السلاطین منشی النظم والنثر ملك الكلام افضل العالم محمد العوفی یدیم الله ایام روزی چند آنجا سکونت ساخته بوده سبب اختلاط و مباسطت که بنده را با اومی بود ائتلافی می داشت و در اثناء آن از کتاب الفرج بعد الشدة ذکری می کرد واز ترتیب آن تفحص می نمود چون معلوم شد که پرداخته شده است و با تمام پیوسته بعد از لطایف حیل و الحاح بسیاری ازوی التماس کرده آمدتا در آن مطالعه رود چون به بنده رسید بر سبیل تعجیل از آن نسخهٔ گرفت بی علم و اجارت او مستور میداشت بعد از آن روی به بیاض نهاد چون دفتر دویم بفرمان اعلی لازل اعلی هم او ترتیب داده بود آن یك جلد فردو مجرد مانده و همت شاهانه شاه جهان خدایگان ربع مسکون ناصرالدنیا والدین که در ملك منجلد باد و بر دشمن مظفر برترتیب دفتر اول مصروف می بود و از عبارتی هرچه لطیف ترو لباسی هرچه پاکیزه تر درآن پوشانیده است و کمال تکلف واجب دیده و امروز رغبت ملوك و سلاطین عالم و فضلا وکابر بنی آدم درین کتاب زیاده از آن است که در آن شرح رود چون دیباچهٔ آن بالقاب همایون شاه جهان سلطان غازی خسرودین پرور خدایگان ربع مسکون ناصرالدنیا والدین ضاعف الله قدره و خلد سلطانه مطرز است و دلها و زبا نهای خلق از مومن و مشرك و شاه و ملك به ولا و ثنای او جاری و ثابت چه امروز حقی متوجه گردانیده است بر تمامت بلاد اسلام و دیار کفر که در وهم و خاطر هیچ بادشاه نگذشته کرت [7]دویم در سنه اهدی و عشرین و ستمایه که کفار ملاعین دمرهم الـه واخزاهم بحضرت ملتان رسیدند با چندان آلت و عدت و کثرت و شوکت و ساختگی و قوت قرب [8]سه ماه آنجا محیط شدند و هر عذر و حیلت که داشت و هیچ لشکری جرار با ایشان مقاوست نتوانست کرد جمله را باصابت رای و رجاحت عقل و تلقین آسمانی و مدد رحمانی و توفیق یزدانی و بزل خزائن و استمالت حشم و رعایت خدم--- مقهور و منهزم گردانید و اکثر ایشان را بدوزخ فرستاد...... چون این ملاعین...... حزمت ملك داری و مهابت جهانداری و فریاد شاهی و ظفر و نصرت پادشاه دین برور شهریار غازی اعلی ((الله)) امره مشاهده کردند و وهن و ضعف و مخذولی خویش بدیدند روی بفرار نهادند و حیات را غنیمت شمردند و دریك شب تا حدود حرجان براند ند واز نهر سند عبور

کردند و سکان این اقلیم از نهب و تتل حرق آن ملاعین..... خلاص یافتند و آن
صیت باطراف عالم و اکناف گیتی سایر و طایر گشت و برروی روزگار مخلد بماند
و برهم مقرر و محقق شد که این پادشاهی و سلطنت و جهانداری و بسطت
کامگاری و قدرت دودمان این شاه جهان خدایگان ربع مسکون ناصرالدنیا والدین
خلد اله ملکه تا دامن قیامت باقی خواهد بود..... الخ۔

Although the above statement is not free from confusion, it is very important in 50 much it supplies some very significant points representing the life and activities of Muhammad Awfi. The historical event mentioned in this note about the Mongol invasion being from the pen of a contemporary writer is of utmost importance. This fact is fully corroborated by Minhaj-i-Siraj in his *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*.

The following points emerge from the above mentioned statement:

(1) Muhammad B. Umar B. Muhammad Samarqandi was attached to the court of Nasiruddin Qabacha which he was[9] perhaps forced to leave and to go to Naharwala, the capital of Gujarat.

(2) Muhammad Awfi had been staying there for some time before Samarqandi arrived there.

(3) Awfi had completed the Daftar-i Awwal of his translation and began the Daftar-i Duwam before Samarqandi met him.

(4) Samarqandi was given the first Daftar of which he secretly made a copy and afterwards collected both the Daftars in the original M.S.

(5) Both the Daftars were dedicated to Sultan nasiruddin Qabacha.

(6) The note was written sometime after the defeat of the Mongols in 621 A.H.

(7) It appears that Saunarqandi went to Naharwala after the vacations of siege of Multan fortress by the Mongols in 621 A.H. which implies that Awfi had been in Gujarat even after 621 A.H.

The seige of the Multan fort by the Mongols in 621 A.H. referred to by Samarqandi in the above mentioned note is confirmed by the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*[10] in these words:

"After the taking of Nandana[11] by the forces of the infidel Mongols,-, the Mongol Nuin with a large army appeared at the fort of the walls of the city of Multan, and for a period of forty

two days, closely invested that strong fortress. During the contest Sultan Nasiruddin Qabacha, opened the door of his treasury, and conferred numerous benefits upon the people, and showed such proofs of boldnes, ability, expertness, and courage that the mentioned therefore will endure upon the pages of time until the judgement day. This affair of the fortress of Multan happened in the year 621 A.H.[12]"

This shows that during this period Awfi was in Gujarat. As he is seen imprisoned[13] in this fortress alongwith the army of Qabacha by the army of mish in Rabi 625 A.H.[14] It is obvious that Awfi returned to the court of Qabacha, the ruler of Multan and Uchch latest by same time in 624 A.H. Under such circumstances the date of the translation be fixed much before 624 A.H. or more correctly about 624 A.H.

Muhammad Awfi's staying in Gujarat is proved by several[15] incidents recorded in the *Jawami ul Hikayat*[16] in one of which he refers to his stay in Cambay:

مولف کتاب محمد عوفی می گوید که من مثل این حکایتی شنیدم وقتی که به کنبایت افتاده بودم، وآن شهری است بر ساحل دریا ودر آن شهر جماعتی مسلمانان پاك دین خوب اعتقاد غریب دوست متوطن اندو خلقی از غربا آن جا مقام دارند وآن شهر از اعمال ولایت گجرات و نهر والا است و در آن شهر طایفه مغان اند و جماعتی از مسلمانان چنین حکایت کنند که در ایام پاشاهی جے سنگه درین شهر مسجد جامع بوده منارهٔ که برآن جا بانگ نماز گفتندی جماعتی مغان مر کافران را سران داشتند تا با مسلمانان حرب کردند و آن مناره را خراب کردند و مسجد را بسوختند و هشتاد مرد مسلمانان رابی جنایتی به تیغ بگزرانیدند۔

Thereupon Khatib Ali hastened to Naharwala and succeeded in impressing the ruler Jay Singh[17] who decided to investigate the case personally. Awfi continues:

وآن مسلمانان را خطیبی بود که اورا خطیب علی گفتندی، از پیش الیشان گریخت و به نهر والا رفت، و خواص و مقربان رای کس به وی التفات نکرد و اورا معاونت ننمود ... پس آن خطیب روزی که رای بشکار خواست رفت، برراه گذر شاه در صحرا درپس درختی بنشست، چنانکه برسید برخاست و رای را سوگند داد که پیل بایستاند و سخن او استماع کند، پس صورت حال خودرا در قصیدهٔ کهبگفت هندوی پرداخته بود، پیش رای باز گفت۔

Awfi states that the Ray rode to Cambay in disguise and traversed the forty farsang journey in a day and night. He entered

the city in night disguised as a trader and enquired from persons about the killing of the Muslims and when the veracity of the complaint was proved he returned the third day to Naharwala having a pitcher filled with sea water. There he administered justice in a particular way.

و روز سوم شبانگاه به نهروالا رسید و روز دیگر بار دار و مقدمان را حاضر کردو خطیب را فرمان دادنا دربار گاه او تظلم کرد چون خطیب سخن خود گفت جماعت کفار خواستند که تمویهی کنند و در ابطال سخن او کوشند، رای مرآبدار خودرا گفت که مطهرۂ من بدیان بده تا آب خورند هر کس که آن بدهن می برد شور بود نتوانستید خوردن دانستند که آب دریاست پس رای گفت مرا بر کس اعتماد نبود چه اختلاف دهن درمیان بود بنفس خود برفتم و معلوم کردم و آن مسلمانان مظلوم بوده اند و برایشان تعدی کرده چرا باید در ملک من چنین حیفی برجماعتی رود که ظل امان من باشند۔

The Jai Singh Ray punished the offenders and sanctioned a huge sum for the repairs of the mosque. Awfi continues:

پس بفرمود تاهر صنفی از اصناف کافران را از مقدمان ایشان بسیاست کردند و یك لك بالو تره بداد تا ازو مسجد و مناره را عمارت کردند و مر خطیب را چهار چتر بداد از جامۂ طرقو۔

Awfi had seen the canopy which was used to be taken on the occasion of Ids. The mosque was again destroyed by the army of Malwa which was subsequently repaired by one Sa'id b. Abu Sharaf of Bamm with his own money. The mosque and minarets were intact when Awfi was residing there.
His words are:

و چون حشم مالوا بر ولایت نهروالا تاختن آوردند مسجد و مناره را خراب کردند، سعید بو شرف بمی آن را از مال خود عمارتی کرد و بر شرافات آن بچهار جای قبه های زر نهاد و آن شعار اسلام در دیار کفر باظهار رسانید و امروز آن مسجد و مناره باقی است۔

It is interesting to note that the inscription is still preserved in a small mosque[18] in Cambay which reads as follows:

(۱) بسم اللّٰه الرحمن الرحیم ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع اله احدا قوله تعالی اذن اله ا،

(۲) ان ترفع ویذ کر فیها اسم یسباع له فیها بالعذو والاصال وقال علیه السلام

(۳) من بنی لله مسجدا و بومثل مفحص قطاة بنا اله له بیتاً فی الجنة هذ امماوفقه

(۴) اله و اعانه بیتا هذا المسجدا لجامع و عمارته بجمیعه و کله من خالص ماله مما

(۵) اتاه اله من فضله و کرمه خالصالله تعالی العبد الراجی الی رحمة اله عزوجل
(۶) سعید بن ابو شرف بن علی بن شابور الربمی غفراله له و لوالدیه و ذالك
(۷) فی التاریخ شهر اله الحرم سنته خمسنه و عشر و ستمائته و صلی اله علی محمد واله اجمعین۔

Obviously the repair was finished in the month of Muharram 615 A.H. then the inscription was written and fixed in the wall of the mosqu which was afterwards removed and fixed in another mosque. However, the circumstances in which the inscription was removed are not known to us. From this it is clear that Awfi must have witnessed all this about five years after.[19]

Let us now proceed to the consideration of Awfi's translation of Qazi Tanukhi's *al Faraz Ba'd ush-Shidda.*

It is unfortunate that only *two* MSS. comprising the second part of the translation are available in theIndia Office Library, MSS. Nos. 737, 738 which have been described by Ethe in the Cata. of Persian MSS. The name of the translator does not appear in the body of the text but on the fly leaf. However, the name of the patron Qabacha and the note of the original copyist quoted, earlier fully confirms the authenticity of its authorship to Awfi. The first MS. No. 737 contains 459 folios, each page containing 15 lines, its size being 10½" by 5⅞". The date of transcription doubtfully appears as تسعـه و ثمـانین خمسین which may perhaps be misspelt from ثمانین و حمس و تسعمائه = 985.

The following chapters are traceable;

باب ششم ورق ۶۱ در ذکر جماعتی که در ورطئه هلاك افتادند و فضل حق تعالی ایشان را خلاص داد۔

باب نهم ورق ۱۰۱ / در ذکر جماعتی که بچنگ سباع افتادند و پروردگار ایشان را خلاص داد۔

باب دهم ۱۲۶ / در عافیت دادن از امراض و اسقام با مرملك علام

باب یازدهم ۱۳۵ / در ذکر جماعتی که از دست شریران و فتان خلاص یافتند

باب دواز دهم ۱۴۹ / در بیان حال جماعتی که از پیش بلا گریختند و در دام محنت نیا ویختند۔

باب سیزدهم ۱۷۴ / جماعتی که ببلای هوا در مانده عاقبت بمقصود رسیده اند۔

باب چهاردهم ۲۵۶ / در ذکر جماعتی که بالفاظ وافی و جوابهای شافی از خشم

ملوک و سلاطین روزگار خلاص یافته اند۔

باب پانزدهم ۲۸۵ / در ذکر جماعتی که از حبس و بند خلاص یافته اند

باب شانزدهم ۲۵۳ / در ذکر جماعتی که در خواب بشارت نجات شنیده اند و در بیداری از سر صدق دیده اند۔

باب هفدهم ۳۹۲ ب در ذکر جماعتی که بمدد اتفاق خوب از مکروه خلاص یافته اند و به نیل مقصود و مراد رسیده اند۔

The MS. begins with these words:

حمد و ثنای مکرمی که اِنس را آنس بخشید و جان را داد و نسیم روان را در چمن تن روان گردانید و عقل را عقالۂ قلب ساخت و معرفت ذات همچو خویش بدو حوالت

After this there is a gap, then follows the praise of the patron, Sultan Naisr-ud-din Qabacha already quoted.

The otherMS. No. 738 in the catalogue p. 504 contains 1420 foll., each page having 17 lines, size 8¹/₈" by 4³/₈", in a Nastaliq hand and was transcribed in Ramzan 1057 A.H. It has no particular arrangements of the Babs with heading missing. However, the 6th, 9th and 16th chapters are available in it. The seventh eighth and the 17th chapters are missing. It beginswith the praise of the Sultan Nasiruddin Qabacha which has been quoted above.

Perhaps Awfi's version of Tanukhi's *faraj* is the earliest translation available in Persian. For a long time it was held that Husain b. As'ad b. Husain Dahistani Muayyidi's translation of Tanukhi's work was perhaps an earlier translation. For example Ethe has left the authorship of the MSS. of Awfi's translation in the India Office Library Nos. 737 and 738 undecided and has conjectured that Dahistani's translation is earleir. Similarly Mirza Muhammad Qazwini was not sure about the priority of Awfi's translation when he observes[20]:

"And it is not known whether the translation of the *al Faraj ba'd ash Shidda* by Hussain which we have in hand now-a-days was prior or subsequent to that of Awfi, since the period of Husain is not known."

But Dr. Nizamuddin in his learned work. Introduction to the *Jawami ul Hikayat*, London 1929 pp. 14-19 has catagorically proved that Dihistani's translation is of a later date. His concluding remarks are; Although the exact date of the composition (of

Dihistan's translation) cannot be ascertained with certainty, it can be safely fixed during the period of his patrons (Izznddin Tahir b. Zangi Fariyumadi's) governorship of Khurasan and Mazandaran, i.e., between 651 and 660. Hence the conjecture of Ethe in his descriptions (Ind. Off. 733, 737 of his Cat.) of these two translations that Husayn's translation is perior to Awfi's seems utterly unfounded. The present investigation undoubtedly establishes that Husayn b. As'ad translated the *Faraj* at least thirty years after Awfi."

Awfi used a much fuller text of the *Faraj* than is represented in the Cairo edition as there a number of anecdotes massing in the latter. He intended to divide his version into two daftars but the two available MSS. are in a defective conditions marred by lacunae, transposition of folio, wrong numeration of chapters and disarrangements of the chapters. Moreover, the text is corrupt authorities of narratives are omitted, proper names are mutilated and Arabic and Persian verses are wrongly transcribed. On comparison of the one MS. which is said to be the second half of the Awfi's translation (Ms. No. 337) with the original text of the *Faraj* it is found to contain three fourths of the work. It seems that a fairly large portion of the first part of the *Faraj* is included in this MS.

The contents of both the MSS. of Awfi's translation would enable us to judge the relative merits of Awfi's and Husain's versions. Each has an advantage over the other. For example in respect of classification of chapters and the division of anecdotes, Dihistani's version is precise and useful; whereas Awfi has not followed the order of the chapters or of the anecdotes. Awfi's version however, represents comparatively accurate, simple and faithful though a little abridged translation, whereas in Husain's version prolixity, modifications of the text, ommissions and insertions of his Arabic and Persian verses have lessened the value of a faithful translation.

It is to be noted that Dihistani has not mentioned that he was undertaking the project of rendering Tanukhi's *Faraj* into Persian. He states[21] that he has collected most of the material himself and that he had come across al-Madaini's *Faraj* upon which he added much. But this observation is not fully correct for he has Tanukhi's

version before him and even in the body of the translation one would come statements which may be cited in support[22] of the arguement refusing the claim of Dihistani.

However, it is worthwhile to illustrate the peculiar features of the two translations by citing parallel examples:

تنوخی : و حکی محمد بن بدیع العقیلی قال......

عوفی : قاضی محسن تنوخی می گوید که از محمد بدیع عقیلی شنیدم که گفت......

دهستانی: یکی از نبیر گان ابو عقیل که عاقلهٔ قوم بود و باعقال و تکلیف ساخته و از عقیله مجون و شطارت باز پرداخته چنین حکایت کرد که

Dihistani has aded much to the original by using figurative language

تنوخی : رایت و رجلاً من بنی عقیل فی ظهره کله شرطه کشرط الحجام الا آنها اکبرفاله عن سبب ذلک فقل انی و کنت هویت ابنته عم لی و خطبتها۔

عوفی : مردی را دیدم از بنی عقیل که بر پشت او نشا نها بود بر مثال زخم شمشیر و `بزر گتر ازان سوال کردم که این زخمها ز چیست؟

گفت خال او : عم مرا دختری بود که مرغ دلم در دام عشق او افتاده و در هوای دانهٔ هوا گرفته چون از فورت عشق قوت صبر فتور پذیرفت اورا خطبه کردم۔

دهستانی : بر پشت مردی از قبیله خویش نشان جراحتهای بسیار دیدم بدان صفت که اثر نیش حجامان باشد الا آنکه اندکی بزر گتر بود و برتمامت پشت نه بر حجامت گاه از و سبب آن جراحت را باز پرسیدم در بدو شباب که زع جوانی شاداب بود و رنگ عارض چون لعل مذاب و لون کلاله چون پر غراب بردختر عم خویش عشق اوردم هم شب در هوای او چون بخت صاحب دولتان بیدار بودم و همه روز از شوق او چون دل محنت زده بیقرار خواستم که به عقد شرعی اورا در حبالئه نکاح خویش آرم و عقد اندوه که بر حبل معیشتم افتاده بود گشاده گردانم آنیه از مراسم خطبه که معهود باشد پیش از نکاح و خطبه بجای آوردم۔

No doubt Dihistani has kept in his mind the words and phrases of the origin more than Awfi, but he has at the time aded much to the original in order to produce florid style.

These would adequately prove that Dihistani's style is florid. He uses figurative language and with a view to create سجع and جناس he employs clauses and sentences rhyming together.

Awfi's style is simple and he has not added to the original.

It is a known fact that Awfi has included most of the anecdotes of *Faraj* in his *Jawami 'ul Hikayat* and Dr. Muhammad Nizamuddin has very ably referred to most of them in his treatise. Introduction[23] to the *Jawami 'ul Hikayat.* If this study is carried forward most of the missing portion of Awfi's version of the *Faraj* may be spplied, for we know for certain that the two MSS. available in the India Office Library do not contain all the contents of the *Faraj.* This work has to be done for it would supply the missing link in respect of the literary achievements of one of the most outstanding early Persian writers. This work may first fully be undertaken only after the publication of the whole of the *Jawami*, less than half of wh..h has seen the light of the day.

It would be interesting to note that in Arabic there exists a considerable amount of what is called a *Faraj* literature.[24] This literature consists of exclusively thousands of anecdotes, both his florical and legendary, respecting persons who have relieved of distress led a life of comfort, conforming to the title of *al Faraj Ba'd ash-Shidda* (comfort after distress). For an interesting study about this literature, the audience referred to the *Der Islam* (1913), Band IV, Heft 3, 4, pp. 270-98, 387-420. Some of the significant authors of the book entitled *al Faraj Ba'd ash-Shidda* are as follows:

1. Abul Hasan Ali b. Muhammad al Madaini)d. 225 or 234 A.H.)
2. Abu Bakr Abdullah (or Ubaidullah) b. Muhammad b. Abid Dunya (d. 281 A.H.).
3. Qazi Abul Husayn Ummar b. Abi 'Amr Muhammad b. Yusuf (d. 328).
4. Abul Fazl Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Nahwi (d. 505).
5. Ali b. Muhammad al Hejazi (d. 1096).
6. Qazi Abu Ali al-Muhassin b. Abul Qasim Ali bin Muhammad at Tanukhi (d. 384).
7. Ibn Shahin Qairawani.

Of all the Arabic *Faraj* writers Qazi Tanukhi's version grew so popular that at least two Persian translations, one by Muhammad Awfi and the other by Husain Dihistani are still available to us. Ibn *Shahin's Faraj* was rendered into Hebrew quite early and the original with the Hebrew translation has been edited and published in 1933 from New Haven under Yale Oriental Series Researches,

by Obermann who in his short forward has discussed the merits of the book. In his opinion its importance for the student of comparative folk-lore, its intrinsic value from medieval theology and religious history, its vital interest and for the student of the tradition and literature and above all its significance for the history of inter-relations between Judaism and Islam can be recognised at first-sight.

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1. His full name was Qazi Abu Ali al-Muhassin, b. Abil, Qism at Tanukhi born in Basra in 327 or 239 and died in Baghdad in 384 A.H. He was a scholar, judge, poet and prose-writer. He was the author of several works of which one out of the eleven volumes of the *Nishwarul Muhazara* (his table talk) and the *al Faraj Ba'd ash-Shidda* have come down to us. For details see Nizamuddin; the introduction to the *Jawami ul Hikayat,* London, 1929, pp. 90-91.
2. The Lubab has been published two times, once edited by Mirza Muhammad and Prof. Browne in two volumes and published from Lyden and again edited by Nafisi and published in Tehran in one volume.
3. The Jawami ul Hikayat has been published so far. A part was edited by Malik ush Shuara Bahar and pblished by the Ministry of Education in 1324 Solar at Tehran. Dr. M. Moin edited & published three sections of the first Bab from theUniversity of Tehran in two vols. While Dr. Nizamuddin edited and published ten sections (including three published by Dr. Moin) from Hyderabad in 1956 in two vols. Lastly the first part of the third Bab was edited & published by Bano Musaffa and the concluding part by BanoMusaffa and Mazahir Musaffa from Bunyad-i-Farhang Tehran in 1352-53. Now what remains to be published is as follows:
   Qism I, 15 chapters.
   Qism II, all the 25 chapters.
   Qism IV, all the 25 chapters.
4. For his career see the Introduction to the Lubab ul Albab Lyden ed.
5. India Office, Per. MS. No.737.
6. Dr. Bano Musaffa Karimi, the learned edition of *Jawami,* had objected to this reading. She is sure that it is a corruption of نیم (p. 27 introduction). But I am astonished to learn that she is not aware of the term نسم امیرالمومنین so frequently met with in the writings of medieval historians, for example see the طبقات ناصری , V. I, pp. 307, 395, 471, 475 etc.
7. The first engagement of the Mongols in India had happened with the forces of Jalaluddin and the part of Naudana was taken (See Raverty, V. I. p. 536 n.).
8. Tabaqat, V. I, p. 420 has 42 days.
9. It is the Arabicised form of the original name Anihlwara, now Pattan.
10. Kabul ed. Vol. I, pp. 419-20.
11. It was a strong fort probably in possession of Sultan Jalaluddin's Vassals (Raverty V.I, p. 536 N.).
12. Samarqandi in his remark on the MS. of the Faraj has three months.
13. Introduction, p. 20.

14. The Delhi army reached Uchcha on the 1st Rabi I, 625 (at p. 420 in Tabaqat is 624) & the fort of Bakkar was taken on 10th Rabi I, 625 (see the *Jawami 'ul Hikayat*, Hyderabad, ed. V. I, pp. 6, 10).
15. For examples see the anecdotes Nos. 366, 374, 380, 39, etc. as classified by Nizamuddin, Introduction, pp. 140-261.
16. Hyderabad ed. V. II, pp. 255-58.
17. He ruled from 1178 A.D. to 1242 A.D./556 A.H. to 629 A.H.
18. For the details see Dr. Desai, Epigraphia Indica-Arabic and Persian Supp. 1961. Arabic Ins. of the Rajput period from Gujarat I, pp. 4-7.
19. According to Dr. Nizamuddin soon after A.H. 617 Awfi was sent by Nasiruddin Qabacha as Chief Judge to Gujarat which was recently conquered. Awfi was no doubt attached with Qabacha but there is no conclusive proof that he was sent by the latter. As scholars used to come to Gujarat from Uchch on their own (as is the case of Samarqandi who prepared a copy of the *Faraj*), it may be possible Awfi might have followed their suit. However, Dr. Nizamuddin is certainly incorrect to suggest that Gujarat was annexed by Qabacha before 617, for the obvious reason that Awfi has wished when in Delhi after 625 that the country may be conquared by the army of Sultan..

    رجاء فسیح است که عنقریب رایت دولت سلطان السلاطین بادشاہ اسلام شمس الدنیا والدین ---- آن دیار را فتح کند و آن بتخانہارا مساجد و معابد گرد اندتا تحقیق این آیت ظاہر گردد کہ یظہرہ علی الدین کلہ ولو کرہ المشرکون -
20. See the Introduction to the Lubabul Albab, Lyden, V. II, by Mirza Muhammad.
21. See Introduction, the *Faraj*, Tehran, Nasir Khusran ed., p. 6.
22. See *Faraj*, p.384 where the anecdote starts with these words مولف کتاب گوید and by the none by تنوخی is meant.
23. Introduction, p. 93; Nearly three fourths of the work have been truly incorporated in one chapter on author of the *Jawami'* see also n. 1, 3, 4, 5, p. 93, and the Table of Contents.
24. See the study by Alfred Wiener in *Der-Islam* (1913), pp. 270-98, 387-420, *Introduction to Jawami,'* p. 90, Brockelmann, 1, p. 215, Supp. 1, pp. 247, 253, 473, Supp. II, p. 387, 2.

IBN SINA'S CONTRIBUTION TO PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Ibn Sina was the greatest thinker and scholar of his age. He had produced marvellous works on philosophy,medicine, atronomy, metaphysics, physics, mathematics, etc., and amongst all his compositions the *Qanun*[1] on medicine and the *Shifa*[2] on philosophy, physics, metaphysics and mathematics occupy the foremost place. Carrying on the traditions of Aristotle in philosophy and of Hippocrates and Galen in medicine, Ibn Sina exercised greatest influence in these fields both over the Asiatic as well as the European thought. And it is gratifying to note that sufficient research has been made both in the East and the West extolling his achievements in the fields of science and philosophy. But his accomplishments in language and literatue have not received due attention and recognition.

Most of Ibn Sina's works are in Arabic which was till his time the language of science and philosophy, Though - he wrote mostly on science and philosophy, some of his compositions treat of literary and linguistic subjects as well. Besides he had composed poetry, and some of his significant poems in Arabic have come down to us which testify to his poetic genius. During the later period of his life, when he was at Isfahan and attached to the court of 'Aau'd-Daula, on the latter's suggestion he started writing in Persian as well. And a number of Persian treatises on diverse subjects are attributed to him amongst which his authorship of the *Danish Nama-i-Ala'i*[3] and the *Rag Shinasi*[4] is quite certain. And although both these are basically scientific works, Ibn Sina has, through them, contributed to the enrichment of Persian language and literature and has, thereby, exercised dominant influence on the subsequent writers. In the present paper an attempt is being made to examine his achievements as a scholar of Persian language and literature.

It is a well known fact that throughout the vast land of Islam Arabic had been the custodian of Islamic learning for many centuries. It was during the middle of the 4th century of the Hijra that the Iranian scholars started writing in Persian on scientific

subjects as well. So when Ibn Sina planned to express his views in Persian he had a number of precedents before him. The *'Aja'ib-ul Buldan*[5] and *Hududul 'Alam*[6] on geography, *Hidayatul Muta'allimin Fit-Tibb*[7] and *Kitabul Abnia*[8] on medicine, *Kashf-ul Mahjub*[9] on the Ismaili doctrines, *Kitabul Bari,*[10] Risala-i-Istikhraj[11] and *Shash Fasl*[12] on astronomy and many others had been completed before the appearance of Ibn Sina as a writer of works on science and philosophy in Persian. Even Biruni (d. after 440) had completed his *Tafhim*[13] a very significant work on astronomy in Persian, during the life time of Ibn Sina. This phenomenon explains how Persian language had been undergoing the process of evolution so as to be employed fully as a medium of expression for scientific and philosophical subjects. Ibn Sina's contribution to the development of Persian language is of far-reaching effect.

As referred to above several Persian treatises are attributed to the great scholar; but the authorship of two of them is certain. These are the *Danish Nama-i-Alai* and a small treatise on pluse called *Risala-i-Rag Shinasi* or *Risala-i-Nabz*. Abdul Wahid Muhammad of Jauzjan a pupil of IbnSina who had supplied missing portions of the *Danish Nama*, had attributed this work to the Shaikh. Similarly the authors of the *Nuzhat Nama-i-Alai*, the *Tabaqatul Atibba* and *Durratut-Taj* and many other have explicity called it the compositions of the great master.

However there is some difference of opinion about the actual title of the book. The common name is Danish Nama-i-Alai but in the *Tabaqatul Atibba* it is Danish Maya and it was printed in India under the title of

مایۂ دانش علائی مشہور بحکمۃ العلائی

Dr. Abbas Ashtiani is sure that it was entitled as "*Danish Maya*" but Dr. Safa holds it as a corrupt form of "Danish Nama". Its title also appears as الرسالة للعلائيه or الحكمة العلائية. Obviously it was written at Isfahan on the advice of Alaud-Daula Kakoya, the ruler of Isfahan (412-433 A.H.). Shahmardan b. Abil Khayar supplies this information in the *Nuzhat Nama-i-Alai*.

و شنیدم که خداوند ماضی علاء الدوله قدس الله روحه خواجه رئیس بو علی سینا را گفت: اگر علوم اوائل بعبارت پارسی بودی من توانستمی دانستن۔

'I have heard that the late master Alaud Daula ('may God sanctify his soul') said to the great master Bu Ali Sinaj. "If the

scientific works had been in Persian I could have understood them."

The exact date of its composition is not known; but it should have been completed after 412 A.H. When Ibn Sina had visited the court of Bahaud-Daula at Isfahan.

The original plan of the author was to cover the following titles:

1. Logic
2. Spiritual Sciences
3. Physical Sciences
4. Geometry
5. Astronomy
6. Arithmetic
7. Music

But the Shaikh could only complete the first three; the rest were supplied by his distinguished pupil Abdul Wahid Muhammad Jauzjani who states as follows: 'When I was in the service of the great master,I was much interested in acquiring and collecting his works, for our master, when wrote a book, would give it to one who would ask for, and therefore the latter would make his own transcript. One of the master'significant compositions is the Danish Nama-i-Alai but its section on mathematics was lost and I could discover it from no source and was thus pained to find the book incomplete. However the Khwaja had such a perfect treatise on short principles of geometry as would lead one to Ptolemy's celebrated work on astronomy–the almagest. He had also left another treatise whose study would provide perfect knowledge about the stars, planets and sky. It had again a small treatise on music as well. But he had nothing on arithmetic. So I supplied the section on arithmetic & music from, the Shaikh's celebrated work Shifa. And having compossed them in Dari (Persian) I supplemented them to the existing sections so as to make it a complete work."

The *Danish Nama* is one of the most celebrated works of Ibn Sina; It has two fold importance. Firstly it is the earliest work on philosophy in Persian specially on the Aristotalian philosophy. Secondly it is linguistically so signigicant that it has a profound influence on the subsequent writers and has thereby contributed

lavishly to the growth of Persian language so as to make it a language of science and philosophy.

It may, however, be noted that in Danish Nama hardly any new thing could be discovered which had not been elaborately discussed in his earliest works like the *Shifa*. Thus so far as its subjects matter is concerned it may be called as original work. But as in Persian language such work did not exist, it went a long way in widening the scope of utilisation and in popularising the scientific views of Ibn Sina which was no longer confined to the Arabic language only. But its utmost importance lies in the fact that a scientist and philosopher like Ibn Sina could contribute to the growth of Persian so as to make it fully equipped to meet the requirements for bring the vehicle of expressions for scientific and philosophical subjects. I shall take the liberty of elaborating this point on the basis of the *Danish Name*.

By a close examination of the vocabulary of Ibn Sina in his *Danish Nama*, the words, phrases and technical terms of three works may be classified into the following:

1. The common words which had been in use before Ibn Sina. Such words are:

آبی، آتشی، آرامش، آسان، آهن، باد، برف، پایدار، خون، دل، روشنائی، سردی، شاخ، گردش، گرمی، مغز، یکسان۔

2. Words used by the scholars previously but were not so common such as:

آخریان، آخشیج، انگارش، باستار، باستاری، برینش، بزرگداشت، توانش، شکوه مندی، کنش، کنیدن، ورج۔

3. Words and technical terms used by Ibn Sina and Biruni frequently but scarcely used by the earlier masters. Prof. Moin has prepared a list of words used by Ibn Sina & Biruni for the first time. But I have discovered some of them in an earlier work, the *Hidayatul Mutaallimin Fit Tibb*. Here in the list:

آرمیدن to be motionless
آمیختن and its derivatives = اختلاط (being mixed; mixture)
اندریافتن* to discern
باریك* subtle and deep
برسو* above and of high order
اتصال پیوستن پیوند (being closely united)

پذرفتن : قبول (Ibn Sina for philosopher and Biruni for astronomer)
تنومند : body
تنومندی : physical
تحریك : to move
چگونگی : condition, position
چهارسو : four sides of a rectangle or square
خرمن : halo round the moon
راست : straight
رده : line
زبرسو : celestial
زیانکار * : harmful (In Urdu it is used in the sense of bearing loss). Iqbal says in his famous line:

کیوں زیاں کار بنوں سود فراموش رهوں   فکر فردا نه کروں محو غم دوش رهوں

سه سو :triangle
سه سوئی :to be of a triangular shape
شمار* :number
فروسو* :below, earthly
فروشدن :degradation, setting of the sun
گرایش :inclination
ماندگی * :similarly
میانگین :intermediary
نگرش :sight
نهادن :to suppose
هموار :plain
یادداشتن :to commit to heat

At least the words marked * are available in the *Hidayatul Muta'allimin*[27] composed about half a century earlier. Even the other words supposed to be commonly used by Ibn Sina and Biruni may be available in the writings of earlier authors but the paucity of material may provide hindrance to such a study. Despite this it goes without saying that Ibn Sina showed his ingenuity in using the old and uncommon words in his Persian writings.

4) Ibn Sina's extraordinary skill is revealed when he is busy in coining words and phrases. Some of his coined words and phrases are as follow:

قائم بالاراده ایستادگی بخودی خود، ایستاده قایم بذات بخود، بهره پذیرش، بی گسستگی، بسرگر، پیوند پذیر، جزوی شناس، جنبش پذیر، جهت گر، (دار مدة

جهت)، خانه گر، علم زیرین، علم میانگین، کار کنش، علم سپس طبیعت،
ماندگی، معشوق مانی، هستی ده.

compounds such as طبعهای مختلف، صورت مختلف etc. However the reader would very rarely come across combinations like حرکت خاصه in which the adjective has been used in femine gender so as to agree with the noun in th same gender. This last speciality has subsequently been the special features of the language.

5) At times Ibn Sina uses pronouns in place of demonstrative adjectives such as in this sentence "ایشان" has been used inplace of اینها (neuter). چهار اجسام بسیط که ایشان را عناصر خوانند.

(طبیعات ۴۹)

(الهیات ۴) باهستی ایشان هرچند که جدانه بود از مایهٔ محسوسات و از چیزها که اندر جنبش بودند وهم ایشان را تواند جد کردن زیرا که بحد ایشان حاجت نماید که ایشان را پیوستگی بود.

Similarly the pronoun "وی" has been in variably used for آن.

6) The verbs agree with nouns in plural number and neuter gender as:

علمها دو گونه بوند
چیزها بوند
چیزها بسیار بوند
جسمها اندر صورت مختلف نبوند
ایشان خود جزاز محسوسات بوند
همه جزوهایك از دیگر جدا شوند ص ۲۲

But if we do not attribute it to corrupt transcipt such sentence is also available in the *Danish Nama:*

چیزها دو گونه است

7) Just as یکم، دوم، سوم the عدد ترتیبی ending in 'م', Ibn Sina in some cases uses دیگرم in place of دیگر e.g. دیگرم علم ریاضی است و اندروی تشویش و اختلاف کم افتد.

But دیگر is in comman use (see p. 13).

8) Ibn Sina genrally uses complete مصدر instead of the prevalent مصدر مرخم.

I shall quote a few examples:

p. 15 این ابعاد سه گانه را اندروی نشایستی تو هم کردن

p. 18 وجزوی از 'ا' به 'ب' خوابد شدن و جزوی دیگر از 'د' به 'ح' خوابدشدن

19 .pلیکن بحقیقت جدا جدا نباید دانستن
12 .pآن صوری نتواند کردن
14 .pو دیگردم باید زدن

9) One of the grammatical peculiarities is that Ibn Sina generally uses the third personal pronoun singular number (objective case) as ورا instead of اورا.

10) In the writings of the earlier writers the preposition انـــــدر is commonly used instead of در. Ibn Sina's writings also possess the same peculiarity. Some examples are noted below:-

اندر وہم گرفتن بی مادت 4 .p
ازین علم که اندر توحیدنگرد 8 .p
اندر سبب ہائی که مرہمۂ ہستی را بود 8 .p
اندرین علم درست شود 8 .p
ہمۂ چیزہا اندر زیر وی آید 9 .p
ہستی وی اندرچیزی دیگراست 9 .p
گسستگی اندر پیوستگی نیست 15 .p

The language used by Ibn Sina has some grammatical peculiactis some of which may be as follows:

1) Generally he forms plural of Arabic words in accordance with Persian system as:

قوتہا، روحہا، نبضہا، فعلہا، وزنہا، شکلہا، نسبتہا، جسمہا، موجہا، حالہا، مسامہا، جزوہا، سببہا، طبعہا، علتہا، صفتہا، خلطہا، حجتہا، روچہا، طبیعتہا، فیلسوفان، معینہا، آلتہا، حجتہا، صورتہا، لفظہا، حکیمان

But one would come across such Arabic plurals as:

واجسام و اعراض، مرکبات، طبائع، محسوسات، متغیرات، مقولات، مسائل، موضوعات، اجسام، عناصر، معجزات، کرامات، مسائل۔

2) Some times he forms abstract noun from Arabic words according to the rule prevalent in Persian language such as:

کثیفی، لطیفی، ضعیفی، متواتری، متفاوتی، منقسمی، و نامنقسمی، غرضی، کیفیتی۔

3) As against the rule in Persian the, معدود if in Arabic plural agrees with the number such as:

این چہار اجسام بسیط که ایشان را عناصر خوانند
سبب آنست، که چہار عناصر بصورت مختلف اند

But it should be taken note of that examples of Arabic

.جهار خط، پنج جزو، سه جزو، دو طبقه، سه علم
singular if معدود is not rare as
4) In Ibn Sina's writing one would generally find the negation of
agreement of nouns and adjectives in Arabic the cases of
illustrations the verb preceedes the predicate:

بمیشه از وی چیزی بمی پالاید بسبب ستدن ہوا رطوبتہاء اورا و بسبب گداختن
حرارت غریزی وی را (طبیعات ص ۸-۹)

یا بسوز دسوختنی چون زمانۂ آتش یا بسوزِ د سوختنی چون انگشت آتش (ایضاً
ص ۱۷)

چارۂ نباشد از پیوند مایہ، ایشان را آمیزش افتد با مایہ و حرکت (الہیات)
ہر گاہ کہ اتفاق افتد کہ کم پالاید یا از کمی گرما یا از کمی حرکت خاصہ یا سختی
پوست چنانکہ مار بزمستان غزا نیابد و ہر گہ کہ اندرتن جوان بلغم بسیار گرد آید
از پس باز خوردن و زیانش نکند از قوت طبع، وی بزمستانی اندر سوراخ بکمی
حرکت بزید بی غذا از بیرون- (رگ شناسی ۱۰)

5) Just like any other write, Ibn Sina prefers Persian words and
pharases to Arabic except where he is obliged to fuse technical
terms the proportion of common Arabic words and pharases in
relation to Persian ones is quite insignificeint. I quote below a
small piece from the *Danish Name* which may serve as a model

گمان نیست کہ صورت جسم نہ این سہ اندازہ است کہ آن پیوستگی است کہ
پذیرای آن توہم است کہ گفتیم و آن صورت پیوستگی است لامحالہ کہ اگر
ہستی جسم گسستگی بودی این ابعادسہ گانہ را اندروی نشایستی توہم کردن و
پیوستگی ضد گسستگی است و ہیچ ضد مرضدرا نپذیرد زیرا کہ پذیرای چیز آن
بود کہ وی بجائی بود و چیزی را پذیرفتہ بود- (الہیات ۱۵)

Leaving صورت جسم which is a technical term the quotation
contains four or five Arabic words. viz., توہم ابعاد، لا محالہ، and ضد
and this number is insignificant in relation to considerable number
of Persian words. The unknown translater of the story of Yahya
yaqzan[28], Abdul Hamid Muhammad Jauzjani, Nasir-i-khusrau
Qabadiyani, Imam Ghazali and Baba Afzal Kashani and
Dr.Mohammad Moin having carried on a long survey of the
writings of the above authors has proved that Ibn Sina has
wrought inimmense influence on the style and diction of the
scholars under study.[29] The survey may be carried forward which
would prove the veraity of the said observation.

The above study proves once for all that Ibn Sina's out-

standing contribution toward the enrichment of Persian language may not be less significiant than his contribution to science and learning. In other words if he is Judged as the foremost scholar and the last scientist of his time on the basis of his scholarly works, he is certainly the best linguist of his time on the basis of his Persian writings and it is in this light that his Persian works should be studied.

Ibn Sina's Persian style also needs a brief description.[30]
Ibn Sina's style in Persin has almost the same features as those of his contemporaries and immediate followers. They may be summened up as follows:

1. Mostly he uses simple and uninvolved sentences. A few examples would substantiate this point

نخست باید که دانسته آید که خوشی و درد چیست، گوئیم که هر کجا که اندر یافت نبود خوشی و درد نبود، پس نخست اندر یافت باید (الهیات ۱۰۲)
پس این کیفیتهای بسودنی اندرجسمها بیشتر اند از کیفیتهای دیدنی و چشیدنی و بوسیدنی، اما اندر حدیث شنیدنی، خودشکی نیست که هیچ جسم را آواز از خود نبود، پس باید که نخستین اختلاف اندرجسمهای این جایگاه اندر گرمی و سردی و تری و خشکی بود (طبیعات ۲۹)۔

2. His language is simple. He refrains from figurative use and disassociates from poetic artifices including سجع so common with the subsequent writers. He also avoids using such attractive devices and metaphors. But his simple style has its own grace and charm. A few sentences are quoted to substantiate the point.

گوئیم که اگر خلا بود نه آنچنان بود که ایشان پند ارند که وی ناچیز بود، و چگونه ناچیزبود، و بتوان گفتن که میان جسمی و جسمی خلا بیشتراست از ان که میان جسمی و جسمی دیگر و توان گفتن که اندرین مقدار خلا چندین مقدار جسم گنجد و افزون وی نگنجد (طبیعیات ص ۱۹)۔

3) Ibn Sina's style is conpicuous by repetitions of verbs, infinitives, adverbs, particles etc. This does not sound well to a modern student but it was not jarring to ears of the readers during Ibn Sina's days. The writings of almost all the scholars of that time exhibit the same peculiarity. I should examine some examples from Ibn Sina's *Danish Nama* to illustrate this point.

پس خلا اگر بود چیزی بود باندازه، وجوہر بود نه عرض زیرا که بخود ایستاده بود و

اندر موضوع نبود و دانستهٔ که نفس اندازهٔ جوهرنبود، پس خلاء نفس اندازه نبود، پس اندازه بود اندر جوهر، وہرچه چنین بود ملاء بود و جسم بود۔ (طبیعیات ۱۹)۔
اما کلی بودن و جزئی بودن و بقوت بودن و بفعل بودن و شاید بود بودن و ہر آینگی بودن و علت بودن و معلول بودن و جوہربودن و عرض بودن از قبل آنست که وی ہستی۔ (الـهیات ۷)۔
آن انبازی که اندر یك خانه افتد زن و شوی را و پدر و فرزند را و خداوند و رہی را بر نظام بود۔

موجود را وہستی را نه ازان قبل بود که وی چندی بود (ایضاً ۷)۔

4) The construction of the sentences is not always based on firm principle with the result that the reader would come across loose constructions so frequently in Ibn Sina's writings. But during this transitory period, the writers were under the influence of Arabic style, in respect of construction of sentences.

5. Ibn Sina has used common Persian words in different meanings. Dr. Moin has prepared an exhaustive list of such words of which a few are quote below:

ایستاده (قایم بودن)، برینش (قطع)، بخوایت (بالاراده)، بسیاری (کثرت مقابل وحدت) پذیرا (قابل) پذیرفته (حال اصطلاح فلسفه)، تنومند (عالم جسمانی)، تنومندی (قوتہای جسمانی) جدائی (غیریت)، دارنده (علت)، داشت (ملك)، دریابنده (مدرك)، سربسر (مساوی) کنا (فاعل)، کنندگی (فاعلیت)، گداخته (مایع مقابل جامد)، مایگی (مادیت) یکئی (وحدت مقابل کثرت)۔

6. Ibn Sina has constructed phrases and has used them in different meanings. Some examples are as follows:

آینه سوزان (آینهٔ محرقه)، ارگی (منشاری)، اندریابی (ادراك)، اندریابنده (مدرك)، اندریافت، اندریافته (ادراك) ایستادگی بخودی خود (قائم بذات)، باریك گوہری (دقت در جوہر)، بر بستناکی (انجماد)، بہره پذیر (قابل قسمت)، بیرون از طبیعت (مابعد الطبیعه) بی گسستگی (لاینقطع)، بسرگر (موجدبسر)، پیداگر (ظاہر کننده) پیوند پذیر (قابل اتصال)، جان سخن گویا (نفس ناطقه)، جنبش دار (متحرك) جنبش راست (حرکت مستقیم)، چہارسو (مربع)، چه چیزی (ماہیت)، دیر جنب (بطی الحرکه)، زود جنب (سریع الحرکه)، سه سو (مثلث)، شاید بود (امکان) فرسو (جہت سفلی)، گوہر روینده (نبات)، نادیداری (باطنی) ہر آینگی بودن (وجوب)۔

And through the writings of Ibn Sina most of these words and phrases have found currency in Persian language which is proved by their free use in the writings of the unknown translator

of Yahya b. Yaqzan.

One of grammetical features of the early Persian writings is that in verbs like ماضی استمراری، ماضی تمنائی، "ی" was generally used in preference to "می" or "همی". Ibn Sina also adheres to the same rule. Here are some examples:

اگر آن نیستی که زمین از شعاع آفتاب گرم شود......
اینجا سخت سرد بودی (Tabiyat p. 30-31)
و اگر حیوان را دریافت باطن نیستی آن چیزی که از ویکبار مضرت دیدی دیگر بار
......نترسیدی (p. 82)
گوئی وی از محسوسات غائبستی (p. 136)

Dr. Husain Khatibi[31] has attributed some grammatical peculiarities to Ibn Sina's prose but I do not find myself in agreement with him. According to him Ibn Sina's peculiarities are:

(a) مقدم داشتن صفت بر موصوف

But this point is not proved by his writings. Here are the examples in which the 'adjective' follows 'Noun':

الهیات ۲۴: کنارهٔ دیگر، ۱ طبیعات ص ۵۳ کیفیتی خاص
" طبعی بود غریب ۲۹ خطی روشن
" صورت جسمی ۴۳ گوهرهای معدنی
۲۷ جایگاهی دارد مخصوص ۸۱-۸۰ قوت غضبی، نفس حیوانی، قوت شهوانی
۳۰ جهتهای مختلف ۸۴ میانجی جسمی
۲۹ مردم عامه رگ شناسی
۴۲ علتی دیگر ۲ خون پاکیزه
۳ علم طبیعی، علم پیشین، علم برین ۸ روح حیوانی، روح نفسانی،
روح طبیعی
طبعیات ۲۷ جسمهاء بسیط
۲۹ آب صافی
" حدیث شنیدنی ۱۰ حرکت خاصه
۳۷ قول پیشین ۱۷ رگهای ناجنبنده
نبض تنگ، نبض دراز
۴۸ آینهٔ محرقه ۲۳-۲۲ نبض پهن، نبض عظیم، نبض افتاده

(b) حرف نفی جدا از فعل منفی

But I have not come across an example of this type; while one may find several cases in which the negative sign (نــه) is joined with the verb:

السات ۱۲-۱۷ ازین دو بیرون نبود، یکی را از دیگر یا: ندارد، آن یکی نبود،

۴۳ اور افصل مختلف نکندو عرض مختلف نکند

بای تاکید برسر بیشتر افعال

But to my estimate the verbs without بـای تـاکیـد are much in excess. Some examples are quoted below:

الهیات ۹۴ چون آرزو بنیرو شود آنگاه اندامها...... اندرجنبش افتد و آن کار بحاصل شود و از این سبب فعل، تبع غرض مابود

طبیعات ۴۸ چون روز روشن شود که بعض اعراض با بعض دوستی دارند بطبع و یکی از ایشان استعداد دیگر دہد ویك بار دیگر بوند

رگ شناسی ۷ بغایت گرمی بود...... لطافت صغرا بروی غلبه دارد پس آن بهرهٔ که از وی بمغز شود تا بمغز بدوزنده باشدو فعلهای خویش بکند

(d) استعمال مضارع از فعل بودن بطور عموم بجای باشیدن

No doubt Ibn Sina uses مـضـــارع from بـودن more than from بـاشیـدن or other synonyms but it cannot be said that it was done as a general rule. One would come across such verbs as شــود، شـونـد، بـاشـند، باشد and شاید in the writings of this great scientist. Here are some examples:

طبیعی ۱۸ از چیزہائی که مر یکی را بود و دیگری را نبود، چون گرد آمده باشند و مداخل شده، دت ہر دو یکی بود

" نشاید که بعدی اندر بعدی آید، پس نشاید که اندر میان کوزه بعدی بود که آب اندر آن بعد شود

الهیات ۲۵ سبب موجب وی گیری واجب شود، چون شرط...... ممتنع شود حاصل شدن واجب شود...... حاصل ناشدن ممتنع بود

طبیعی ۷۱ یا چون انگشتی مرده باشد...... و بطیف بود زود آتش صرف شود

و نا دیداری شود و سبب نا دیداری آن بود۔

In this *Rag Shinasi* the use of باشد is in a greater degree than in his other composition see pp. 29, 31, 34, 35, etc.

(e) استعمال بمی در مورد استمرار بجای میم بطور عموم

While going through the writings of Ibn Sina the reader will come across many examples of verbs in which "می" is used. By a general estimate the use of "می" in the *Rag Shinasi* is more than double of "بمی" for which see pp. 10, 14, 15, 16, 32, 33 etc. It may be noted that, می or بمی has been used in case of the presenet and not of the past tense which had been denoted by adding "ی" to the ماضی مطلق. In the *Danish Nama* the use of می or بمی is in a much lesser degree than in the *Rag Shinasi*.

The last point regarding Dr. Khatibi's observations is that the writings of Ibn Sina do not support his contention of refraining from the use of adjectives in comparative degree. Here are some examples of such adjectives selected from his writings:

بیشتر، زود تر، پیوسته تر (رگ ۱۱)

نزدیک تر (الیات ۵۱)، عرض تر (الیات ۳۳)، محال تر (۲۱)، اولی تر (۲۵)

The above discussion fully bear out that Ibn Sina's outstanding contribution to Persian language and Persian prose literature would earn him a top-ranking positions amongst the literatures and linguists of his time; and no scientists excepting perhaps Biuni would favourably compare with him at least in respect of this point.

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1) The Qanun the most detailed and popular look on Islamic medicines in Arabic was started at gurjan in 403 A.H., part of which completed Ray in 405 A.H., finally completed at Hamadan between 406 and 414 A.H. It is divided into various sections. It has been translated into various languages of the world of which the Latin translation is perhaps the oldest.

2) The *Kitabush-Shifa* comprises to us parts dealing with Logic, physical sciences, mathematic and metaphysics and spiritual sciences. It was completed at Hamadan between 412 A.H. and 414 A.H. It is the next most popular book of Abu Ali Sina which has translated into various language of the East and the West.

3) The *Danish Nama-i-Ali* has lately been properly edited and printed in parts by the Anjuman-i-Athar-i-Milli Tehran 1330- 1331 solar.

4) It is a small treatise in Persian dealing with pulse. It has been lately edited

by Saijid Muhammad Mishkat and published by the Anjuman-i Athar-i-Milli,Tehran 1330 solar.

5) It is attributed to Abu Muaijid Balkhi who is stated to have written it for the samanid prince Nuh-Mansur (365- The book exists in a Ms which was in possesion of Malkush Shuara Bahar. (See the *Sabk-i-Shinasi* 2, p.19)
6) It was written in 372 and has been published under gibb Memorial serie with the introduction by Barthoel and Notes by Minorsky. It was again printed in Tehran. Lastly it has been printed at Kabul 1342 with English introduction of Barthoed and Nots in English by Minorsky translated into Persian by Miss Husain Shah.
7) Edited by jalal Matini on the basis of the solitary MS. in the British Museum dated 478 A.H., and published by the Mashhad University,1965.
8) Edited by Flugul on the basis of the solitary MS. at Vienna which was copied by Asadi Tulsi in 447 A.H. It has again been printed by Bunyad-i-Farhang, part of which also appeared in a Facsmile edition.
9) Its author is Abu Yaqub Sigzi and the book has been edited by Henry Corbin and p nted in Tehran 1337 solar.
10) It was written by Abu Nasir Hasan Ali Mumajjin of Qusum about 367 A.H and exists in a defective MS. in the National Library at Berlin (Safa, Tarikh-i-Adabiyat,1p.620)
11)-
12) Both were composed by the astronomer: Abu jafar Muhammad Ayyub Tafar (*Ibid* p.632).
13) It was written in Persian by Bisumi in 420 A.H. for the daughter of the rules of Khwarazun. The book has been published by the University of Tehran 1318 solar.
14) In the introduction to the part of Maths, juzjam says:

از بزرگ تصانیف او دانش نامۂ علائی است

(See the introduction to الہیات p. 7)
15) It was written by Shahmardan Abul Khair after 488 A.H. for Alaud Daula Khasbak Abu Kalijar Karshaf Ali Al and Daula Kakuya. He is the author of another work the *Rauzatul Mumaj-jimin* (see: Safa, History of Persian Lit. 11, pp. 909- 911).
16) Its another is Ibn Abi Usaiba (600-668 A.H.) see,- Egypt ed.1299 A.H., vol 11 p. 19.
17) Its author Qutubud-Din-Muhammad Shivazi (634-710 A.H.) was a contemporary of Shaikh Nasirud-Din Tulsi. The *Darrafut- Taj* is in Persian and printed in Iran.
18) The words are : كتاب دانش مایة العلائی بالفارسية صنفه لعلاء الدولة بن کا کوية باصفهان (ج ٢ ص ١٩)
19) It was printed in the press Firuz Deccan in 1309 A.H.
20) See the *Jashn Nama*, Tehran 1334 solar, V.2.p. 201.
21) See Tarikh-i-Adabiyad, V.I.P. 625 n.
22) *Jash Nama* v.2.p. 201.
23) It was the Buhid Prince Alaud-Davla Kakoya who ruled in Istahan and died

in 433. Ibn Sina wrote the reputed *Danish Nama* as well as the small treatise: the *Rag Shivasi* for the same prince.

24) See *Lughat Nama-i-Dehkhuda*, Introduction, No. 40 p. 65. The Samarid Prince Amir Mansur Nuh had expressed the same view about the *Tafsi-i-Tabasi* and accordingly it was rendered in Persian (Ibid).

25) See the introduction to the *Danish Nama* ( ). Dr. Moin ed. Tehran 1331, pp.

26) Dr. Moin has made a defailed surveyed of the words & phrases of the Danish Nama and Rag Shinasi and pubished his results in the Lughat Nama, Introduction, No.40 pp. 65-78 and in the Jashn Nama in Ibn Sina, vol. 2.

27) A very exhaustive list of words and phrases of the book appear at the end of the printed edition, pp. 863-911.

28) This is an allegorical Arabic work of Ibn Sina which was rendered in Persian by an unknown translator during the life time of the Master. The translation was under taken under the instructions of Alaud-Daula-Kakoya at I 'ahan (see, Safa, Tarikh-i- Adabiyat.

29) See, Lughat Nama, Introduction, No. 40 pp. 70-81, see also Jashn-Nama V.2, pp. 359-379.

30) An article under the title :

نثر فارسی در نیمه دوم قرن چهارم و نیمهٔ اول قرن پنجم و سبک نثر فارسی ابن سینا۔

was written by Dr. Husain Khatibi of Tehran University and pub- lished in the Jashn Nama V.2 pp. 316-328.

31) See the Jashn-Nama, vol. 2 pp. 326-327.

THE DISCOVERY OF AN OLD MS. OF DIWAN-I-HAFIZ, ITS EDITION AND PUBLICATION

About forty years ago I was informed that the renowned Arabic school Professor Mohammed Zobair Siddiqi of the Calcutta University had presented a paper in the International Congress of Orientals, on an old Ms. of the Diwan of Hafiz which was the property of a well known family of Gorakhpur, U.P., India, called Sabzposh family. When I contacted Professor Siddiqi and enquired about the Ms. he gave no information and I was much disappointed. In 1957 I shifted from Lucknow to the Aligarh M· slim University and there I came in conta t with a student of the Persian department who belonged to Gorakhpur and was close to the Sabzposh family. Through him I made an effort to know the whereabouts of the aforesaid Ms. but no member of the family knew anything about it. However when they came to know about the loss of a very valueable Ms., they were much shocked. But I was sure that the Ms. was utilised by Professor siddiqi. So on behalf of the family a letter was written to him to give some information about the Ms. to which he replied that he had returned the Ms. long long ago.

In the meantime a friend of mine Dr. Mahmood Ilahi was appointed as a lecturer in Urdu at the Gorakhpur University and I lost no opportunity in seeking his assistance in my effort for the discovery of the Ms. but for a long time nothing happened. After a lapse of several years I received a letter from Dr. Mahmood Ilahi that he had discovered the Ms. which was lodged in the Khanqah-i-Rashidya Library at Jaunpur U.P., which was managed by the aforesaid Sabzposh family of Gorakhpur. Dr. Mahmood Ilahi further informed me that he was a frequent visitor of the library which was in a very bad shape. Its Mss were disarranged, the wooden almirahs broken, the Mss damped and worm eaten. Dr. Ilahi used to select Mss and took them out from the shelf. One day it so happened that he took out a Ms. from the shelf and it turned to be a copy of Diwan-i-Hafiz and he had heard from me much about the very old Ms. of the Diwan. So it struck to him that

it is the same Ms. which I had been seeking for long.

Now I was told that the much sought after Ms. had been brought to Gorakhpur and I should make use of it. I advised Dr. Mahmood to return the Ms. to Mr. Arif Ali Sabzposh who was head of the family. Dr. Mahmood Ilahi returned the Ms. to him with the request that a copy of it may kindly be supplied to me. To this he agreed. But when he was requested to give permission for obtainning a phtographic copy, he refused. We were disappointed. However I was glad that the Ms. was saved and hoped that sooner or later it will see the light of the day.

After a few years I happened to participate in a seminar on Ghalib Dihlawi organised by Dr. Mahmood Ilahi under the auspices of the Dept. of Urdu, Gorakhpur University. Here I came in contact with Mr. Arif Ali's younger brother named Sayyidd Hashim Aii Sabzposh. He enquired of me whether I was still interested in the Diwan of Hafiz which was discovered through my efforts. To this my answer was in the affirmitive but I told him that I would not use the Ms. if there may be any chance of rupture of relations between the two brothers. But Mr. Hashim Ali assured me that he was fully authorised to deal with the Ms. He brought it at the residence of Dr. Ilahi and I started reading and copying the relevant verses, and in three to four days time I copied out the opening lines of all the ghazals, qitas, Rubais and even all the Fards. I was much excited to read the colophan which gave the name of the scribe and th date of its transcription. It was three years older than the Khalkhali Ms which was the basis of the Qazwimi-Ghani edition. The Ms. contained the much sought introduction not prefixed to any ninth century Ms. One of the special features of the Ms was that its orthographical pecularities were similar to the 8th and 9th centuries Persian Mss. Besides it contained several ghazals and poems of other forms which were declared spurious and excluded from the Diwan edited by him. Subsequently I published an article in the *Majalla-i-Iranshanasi*, Tehran University in which the main emphasis has been on the spurious nature of the ghazals of Hafiz. On the publication of the article the value of the Gorakhpur Ms. was realised by the Iranian scnolars.

In the meantime Mr. Arif Ali died at a young age. On his death

I sent a letter of condolance to Mr. Hashim Ali Sabzposh, while in a letter to Dr. Mahmood Ilahi I requested him to convey my feeling of sorrow and sympathy to Mr. Hashim Ali on the sad demise of his brother. When Dr. Ilahi conveyed the message, Mr Hashim Ali was so moved as to give me permission to use the Ms as I like. Dr. Mahmood Ilahi suggested that I should leave for Gorakhpur after a fortnight I when Mr. Hashim was relieved of the shock and tension.

Then I approached Mr. M. H. Razvi, the librarian, M.A. Azad Library, A.M.U. Aligarh and explained to him the importance of the Gorakhpur Ms. and the circumtances in which I was allowed to study it. I requested him to spare his photographer for a couple of days. Mr. Razvi was so kind as to depute the photographer and have the desired Ms. microfilmed. So on a proposed date I left for Gorakhpur along with the photographer and the microfliming paraphernelia. When we arrived at Gorakhpur I suggested the photographer, Mr. Ahmed Ali to stay with one of the relatives, and I started copying the Ms. at the residence of Mr. Hashim Ali. I had stayed with Dr. Mahmood Ilahi in the University and would leave his place at about 7A.M. for Mr Ali's residence at Unchwa Mohalla where I worked on the Ms. till late in the evening. Thus I gained sympathy from all the members of the family including Mr. Ali who insisted that I should get the Ms. microfilmed. But I post-poned it on the false pretext that the microfilming facilities were not available in Gorakhpur. I had planned to copy out the complete Ms., and only then the film was to be made. I finished the transcription in about three weeks time, and then a date was fixed and the Aligarh photographer was asked to do his job.

While on the last page of the Ms., in the margin the name of the scribe is repeated and the date is given for the first time in these words:

تم الکتاب المتن و الحاشیه، انتخابُ الدیوان الشیخ العارف الفاضل الکامل ملک
الشعراء المتاخرین عمدة السالکین کمال الملة والدین النه جندی روح اللهُ روحه
علی یدی العبدالضعیف المحتاج الی رحمة ربه الباری محمد بن سعیدین عبدالله
الحافظ للقاری اصلح الله احواله فی سلخ ذی الحجه اربع و عشرین و ثمان مائة
الهجریه الصلوٰة علی نبیه محمد و آلهِ اجمعین۔"

It is obvious that its scribe, Mohammed sai'd b. Abdullah

al-Hafiz al-Qari, transcribed the Ms. on the first of Zil Hijja, 824 A.H. i.e. three years earlier Mohammed Qazvini. It contains 432 ghazals as against 495 ghazal of the Khalkhali Ms., and has all the orthographical peculiarities of the 8th and early 9th centuries Persian MSS. In it the rules for distinction between dal and zal-i-farsi have been retained.

Now I undertook to prepare a critical edition of the Diwan of Hafiz on the basics of this Ms., and in a few months time I finished the collation of the Ms. with some popular printed texts including the Qazwini edition. Then I wrote the introduction in which the main thrust was on examining the justification of Mirza Mohammad Qazwini's exclusion of a large number of popular ghazals not included in the Khalkhali Ms. Mirza Mohammad so emphatically declares such verses as spurious. Some of his observations are:

اجون نسخهٔ [حلخانی] که درسنهٔ ۸۲۷ کتابت شده عجالةً تا نسخهٔ قدیمتری از آن بدست نیامده آن را باید قدیمترین نسخ موجودهٔ تاریخ دار حافظ در دنیا محسوب داشت، لہذا من خودرا ملتزم و مقید کردم که در خصوص کمیت اشعار یعنی از لحاظ عدهٔ غزلیات و عدهٔ ابیات ہر غزلی از ابتدا تا انتہای کتاب فقط و منحصراً ہمان نسخه را اساس کار خود قرار دہم و ہرچه در آن نسخه موجود است از غزلیات و مقطعات و مثنویات و رباعیات تماماً بدون ہیچ زیاده و نقصان آنہارا چاپ کنم و ہرچه در آن نسخه موجود نیست، خواه غزلیات مستقل و خواه ابیات متفرقهٔ بعضی غزلہایا غیر ذالك، آنہارا مطلقاً کالعدم انگا شته بکلی از آن صرف نظر نمایم زیرا چون نسخهٔ خلخالی نسخهٔ کامل تمامی است از دیوان خواجه، و خلاصه و انتخابی از آن نیست، پس هرچه درین نسخه نیست باحتمال بسیار قوی بلکه تقریباً به نحوقطع و یقین الحاقی و اشعار دیگران است که بعدہا در دیوان خواجه داخل کرده اند،

He Continues:

"ہرچه خارج ازین نسخ باشد از اشعار الحاقی خواه غزلیات الحاقی و خواه ابیات الحاقی ہر غزل، ہمه را بکلّی کالعدم انگاشته بی ہیچ وجه آنہارا داخل دیوان خواجه ننمایم--- تا آنجا که مقد ور من است دُرّ و خرمہره را دریك رشته جمع نکنم و ابداً شہرت بعضی از آن اشعار الحاقی در نسخ جدیده مرا وا ندارد که حتی یك غزل یا حتی یك بیت که در نسخ اساس نیست بر دیوان خواجه علاوه نمایم۔"

"پس از مجموع این قرائن ظن بسیار قوی بلکه علم قطعی حاصل می شود که آنچه غزلیات بتمامہا یا ابیات متفرقهٔ ہر غزلی درین چہار نسخه موجود نیست، تقریباً به نحو قطع و یقین و بدون ہیچ شك و شبه از خود حافظ نیست بلکه از

دیگران است که بعدہا متدر جاً در دیوان خواجه داخل شده است۔"

The basis of declaring a large number of additional poems of Hafiz as spusious and thereby deleting them from the Diwan of Hafiz by Mirza Muhammad Qazimi is their non inclusion in the then oldest available Ms–the khalkhali Ms dated 827 A.H.–. It must be noted that the Gorakhpur Ms, a Ms threee years older, contains the following poems excluded from Qazwini edition. This conclusively proves that Mirźa Muhammad's theory of spuriousness respecting the verses of Hafiz stands repudiated. Here is the list of the additional poems of the Gorakhpur Ms. which Mirza Mohammad has excluded from his edited copy:

A Ghazals : 13

صبح دولت می دمد کو جام ہمچون آفتاب
این پیک نامه بر که رسید از دیار دوست
حال دل باتو گفتنم چه خوش است
از نظربازی، بیخبران حیرانند
برید باد صبا دوشم آگہی آورد
مژده ای دل که مسیحا نفسی می آید
درخت دوستی بنشان که کام دل ببار آرد
گل آمد خوش و زان خوشتر نباشد
جانان ترا که گفت که احوال، مپرس
ماپیش خاک پای تو صد رونہاده ایم
ای شام ز کوی ما گذر کن
ای از فروغ رویت روشن چراغ دیده
ای زشرم عارضت گل کرده خوی

B Muqattat : 7

دل مبندای مدد بخرد در سخای عمروزید
رحیم منکر خمّار بود روز چند
شاہا مسافری زبہشتم رسیده است
کلك کوته نظرم بین که بر طغرل شاه
بسمع خواجه رسان ای ندیم
تا کار بکام دل مجروح شود
دوش درخواب چنان دید خیالم که سحر

C) Rubais : 4

آواز پر مرغ طرب می شنوم
مقبول دل خواص و مشهور عوام
راه طلبت ز خارغمها دارد
بار آی که چشمت بجمالت نگرانست

D) Mufradat : 2

تمنای من از عمرو جوانی
شُکر شُکر بشکرانه بیۂ شان حافظ

My argument is further strengthened by the additional poems found in the Asafiya Library Hyderabad Ms. which have been declared spurious by Qazwini, The Hyderabad Ms. is a collection of three poems, viz., *Kalila wa Dimna, Mantiq ul Tair* and Diwan-i-Hafiz in which the Colophon gives the date such:

قد فرغ من کتابته یوم الثلثا ثانی عشر شهر ربیع الاول سنه ثمانِ عشر و ثمانمأته۔

This is the list of additional poems available in the Hyderabad Ms. which is nine years older than the Khalali Ms. Hence there was no point in declaring such authentic poems as spurious:

A) Ghazals: 9

ز دل برآمدم و کار برنمی آید
داد گرا ترا مکل جرعه کش پیاله باد
مژده ای دل که مسیحا نفسی می آید
مرامئی دگرباره از دست برد
ساقیا مایۂ سراب بیار
صبا بمقدم گل راح فوح می بخشد
جانان ترا که گفت که احوال ما مپرس
ای ز شرم عارضت گل غرق خوی
ساقی اگرت ہوای ماہی

B) Muqattat : 5

گہه بحکمت قطره را گرداند لؤ لؤ در صدف
ای جہان وہرچه ہست از آخرینش درجہان
دل منه ای مدد بخرد برسخای عمر و زید
حسن این نظم از بیان مستغنی است
دریغا خلعت و حسن و جوانی

C) Rubais : 3

نام بت من که مه ز رویش خجل است

جو جامه زتن بر کشد آن مشکین خال
شیرین دہنان عہد به پایان نبرند

From the above details we come to the conclusion that after the deletion of 4 common poems, the Gorakhpur and the Hyderabad Mss, both of which are older than the Khalkhali Ms, contain 19 ghazals, 11 qitas, seven rubais and two fards which have been excluded from the Qazwini edition. Thus the view of Mirza Muhammad Qazwini regarding spurious nature of Hafiz's poems is incorrect and unjust. Hence his edition of the Diwan of Hafiz does not deserve the place which is commonly assigned to it, and I hope to be excused for expressing such a view.

Permit me to add that I feel delighted to discover, introduce and finally publish in 1971 a Ms. of Diwan-i-Hafiz which may truly be regarded as a land mark in respect of the textual study of the greatest lyrical poet of the East. I feel proud to add further that the Ms which was stated to be lost as late as 1972 in an issue of the International Oriental Journal of New York, was introduced by me as early as 1349 S/1971. The importance of this Ms lies in these respects:

1. It contains several additional poems declared spurious by Qazwini. This aspect of the Diwan opens new horizon for scholars interested in the study of Hafiz.

2. It is prefixed by an introduction of the compilor of the Diwan who is otherwise unknown. This introduction is not available in any of the known 9th century Mss of Diwan-i-Hafiz. This is full of new information and provides fresh topics for research and investigation on Hafiz and his career. Som of the important points are as follows:

a) The name of the compilor of the Diwan and the author of the introduction is commonly known as Muhammad Gulandam. Mirza Muhammad Qazwini regards this name as a later addition. This name is not available in the introduction prefixed to the Gorakhpur Ms. It may lend support to Qazwini's point of view.

b) The following statement:

"خصوصاً امام المشارق و المغارب، جامع اصناف حقایق و معارف قائل کلمۂ انا کلام الله الناطق اسد الله الغالب علی بن ابی طالب:

شهنشی که سحر گاه روز فطرت بود غرض وجود شریفش ز خلقت انسان الخ"
which Mirza Muhammad regards a later addition is not available in the introduction of the Gorakhpur Ms.

c) The date of Hafiz's death is given 791 in words in this introduction while the chronogram quoted in it gives 792:

بسال با وصاد و ذال ابجد ز روز ہجرت میمون احمد
بسوی جنت اعلی روان شد فرید عصر شمس الدّین محمد
بخاك پاك او چون بر گذشتم نگه کردم صفا و نور مرقد

This discrepancy remains unaccounted for. Mirza Muhammad regards 792 as the correct date, and about the other date his view is that it has been borrowed from a Qita in which خاك مصلّیٰ is the chronogram for 791. But this is wrong date. Mirza's view about the real date of death (792) seems to be correct but the incorrect date 791 is not borrowed from the qita, it is included in the introduction of the Gorakhpur Ms and has a long tradition. This poses a difficult problem for the researchers.

d) The word "شہید" occurring along with the epithets of the poet in this statement:

ذات ملك صفات مولاناء معظم مرحوم سعید شهید مفخر
افاضل العلماء استاد نحارير الادبا شمس الملة والدین محمد الحافظ الشیرازی۔

is very much present in the introduction though it was very much confusing to Qazwini. However the word is not an interpolation and it posses a problem which demands serious consideration of the scholars.

The words ملازمت شغل تعلیم سلطان occurring in this introduction exclusively proves that he was employed as a teacher of the Sultan which Qazwini's text does not support. It has an altogether a different reading such as ملازمت برتقوی واحسان. Similarly the phrases تحشیه کشاف و مفتاح of the introduction shows unequivocally that Hafiz wrote Hashiya or comments on the Khashaf and the Miftah while Mirza Muhammad Qazwini's text has the بحث کشاف و مفتاح, which would signify that Hafiz only took special interest in the study of the aforesaid books. In other words Qazwini and some other scholars feel that the later interpolations in the text have resulted in wrongly ascribing the authorship of the Hashiyas

on the Khashaf and the Miftah to this poet. In their opinion the poet's attachment to the sultan as his teacher is incorrect based on an spurious text. But the veracity of their observation is doubtful for what they regard the later interpolation in the text is available in the most authentic text of the introduction. Thus this introduction provides in interesting topic for research and investigation.

As stated earlier I prepared a critical edition of the Diwan-i-Hafiz on the basis of the Gorakhpur Ms. The text was collated and compared with some important printed texts including Qazwini edition, and the textual variants were noted down in the bottom of each page but the additional poems available in other editions were not included in the present text for my aim was not to prepare a comprehensive text of the Diwan but only a critical edition of that text which Gorakhpur Ms represented. However, the text of the introduction was compared with those prefixed with the printed Diwan and the missing folio supplied on the basis of the Qazwini edition.

When the work was proceeding one of my Iranian friends Mr. Jalali Naini told me that he wished to publish it. I did not commit myself to the proposal. However, when the critical text was ready Mr. Jalali came to Aligarh and asked me to hand over the Press copy. At the same time a message was received from Dr. Khanlari who showed his great interest in publishing the Diwan on very libral terms. But I preferred to publish the book through Mr. Naini who took the script to Iran and without my permission effected many alterations in the manuscript. He completely changed my introduction, added some notes which resulted in the multiplication of variants in the foot notes and finally added his name as the co-editor of the book. This was all against my wishes and against the terms of agreement. Mr. Naini's adding abritratily his name as a co-editor reminds me of a historical incident which may be of some interest to the readers. Abul Hasan Hajwiri, the author of the well known Sufistic work, the *Kashful Mahjub* informs us about the reason for particularly adding his name in the first chapter of the *Kashful Mahjub* thus: 'There were two motives for adding my name at the general benefit (نفع عام) and the other as particular benefit (نفع خاص). The first is this: when some unscruplous imposter finds a book in which the

author's name is missing, he scribes it to himself and this defects the author's objective because the idea underlying in compilation collection or authorship of a book is nothing but this that it keep his (author or compilors) memory alive among the readers and visualisers who remember him well. I have myself come across with two similar incidents in my life. Once it so happened that a collection of my verses was borrowed by some one who never returned it to me. I had no other copy of the Ms. So he cunningly ascribed the book to himself. All my labour was lost. The second incident is this I authored a book on Sufism entitled *Minhajud-Din*. An ignonimous charlaton the uttering of whose name would be shameful, obliterated my name and predented that the book was authored by him though the scholars laughed at his false pretentions. The particular benefit (نفع خاص) is this: when people come across a book and find that the author was a profound scholar and an adept in the field they keep in their view his point of view and study the book with all the care and attention it demands. This meets the objectives of both the writer and the readers. This statement is described by the Sufi Saint Hazrat Nizam ud-Din Aulia in the *Fawaid ul Fuwad* with a little variance.

The Diwan was finally published from the Astan-i-Quds Mashed and the printed copies were freely distributed amongst the scholars of Iran, India and elsewhere. I was generously given almost 40 titles with no honorarium or royalty. I was informed that Mr. Jalali Naini had been handsomely paid for the edition of the book. In the meantime I visited Tehran and contacted Mr. Naini. He informed me about the second edition of the Diwan which was elaborated on the basis of an old Ms. avail- able in Turkey and published by Amir-i-Kabir at Teheran. Mr. Naini honoured me by giving one copy of this edition whichI subsequently presented to my friend Maulana Saeed Ahmad Akbarabadi. When I requested Mr. Naini to return the photographic copy of the Gorakhpur Ms and other documents lent to him along with the Press Copy, he flattly refused to oblige me. After some years I heard about the third edition not from Mr. Naini but from somebody else. In the mean time I received a packet contain- ing four titles of the third edition sent by the publisher: Amir Kabir of Tehran with a letter in which the manager of the publishing House has written that when

he was told by Dr. Jawad Mashkur that no copy of the edition was given to me, he is despatching these four copies as a gift. He had also added tht the benefits accrued had already been received by Mr. Naini. The news was shocking for I never expected such an irresponsible behaviour from a scholar who once had been the President of the Bar Association at Tehran. As all the necessary documents supplied by me earlier are with him, I think Mr. Naini must be planning to bring out the fourth editior of the Diwan of Hafiz which is sold like a hot cake in the market. The various editions of the Diwan-i-Hafiz have profitted him in several respects. He is being recog- nised as an authority on Hafiz–The Diwan is often called Jalali Naini edition (like Qazwini ed.) having no association with me–He has earned adequate profits in this business. Iqbal's verses sug- gestively fit in for such occasions:

دستِ دولت آفرین کو مزد یوں ملتی رہی — اہلِ دولت جیسے دیتے ہوں غریبوں کو زکات
مکر کی چالوں سے بازی لے گیا سرمایہ دار — انتہائے سادگی سے کھا گیا مزدور مات

The skilful hand which is a source of production would receive the fruits of its labour as a poor person receives alms from the rich. The capitalist by his deceitful trick succeeded while the labourer was defeated due to his simplicity.

SOME PROBLEMS RELATED TO INTRODUCTION TO THE DIWAN-I-HAFIZ

Hafiz is the most popular poet of Persian and his popularity is not confined to his native country but has reached the corner of the world, and this farthest popularity has started even during his own life time. But it was unfortunate that his writings were not collected to form a codex during his life time with the result that no authoritative text of the Diwan was available even very shortly after the death of the poet. Some of the Mss are prefixed with an introduction while most of them have no introduction at all and the introductions too are not identical. The older Mss. have shorter introduction, while the later Mss and the printed copies have longer one though basically similar to the earlier introduction. At least two Mss with an introduction by the well-known calligrapher: Abdullah Marwarid(d.922) are availaable. The introduction shows that in 907A.H. an effort was made to compile an authentic text of the Diwan of Hafiz which till then was full of mistakes at the hands of the incompetant and careless scribes. Thus about five hundred Mss and several anthologies and poetical collections were collected and compared and collated among themselves under the ginidance of prince Abdul Fath Faridun Husain s/o Sultan Husain Baiqare and it was in the latter's court that the Diwan was assigned the name Lisanul Ghaib, "the tongue of the unseen".

Mirza Mohammad Qazwini, the most outstanding Iranian scholar, was the first scholar who attempted to prepare a certical edition of the introduction and discuss some of the problems related to it in the marginal notes. His introduction represents more or less the shorter one available in the earlier Mss., though the latters were not available to him. However about three and a half additional pages are available in Mirza's edition, though he was quite doubtful about their authenticity as he says:

از این جاتا ابتدای سطر ۷ از صفحه قد تا کلمه "رواحل غزلهای جهانگرش" از چهار نسخه ملك و تقوی ۲ و با و نسخه آقای رشید یا سمی بکلی ساقط است (ص قا)

ازا واسط س ۵ در ص قا از کلمه "گاه سر خوشان کوی محبت را" چنانکه در
بهمانجا نیز بدان اشاره شد تا این جا بکلی از چهار نسخهٔ ملك و تقوی ۲ و باوی
ساقطت است و بعید نیست تمام این جملهٔ طویل الحاقی باشد چه نوع مطالب آن
و طرز انشاء آن و مخصوصاً عدم تقیّد تام آن بسجع باسا بر قسمتهای این مقدمه تا
درجهٔ بتفاوت بنظرمی آید۔

One is bound to admire the gift of great literary and poetical aptitute of Mirza Mohammad who on stylistic ground casts doubt about the authenticity of these additional pages. His doubt came to be true with the discovery of three earlier Mss not available to the above scholar from which these additional pages are completely absent.

About another addition in the printed copies and even some of the Mss(but not in the Qazwini edition) Mirza Mohammad addes this note:

در بعضی نسخ خطی جدید و در اغلب نسخهٔ چاپی بعدء زاین بیت [تا روز را فروغ
بود شمع را شعاع] عبارت ذیل را علاوه دارند: "خصوصاً امام المشارق و المغارب
جامع اصناف حقائق و معارف قائل کلمه انا کلام الله الناطق اسد الله الغالب علی
بن ابی طالب:

شهنشهی که سحر گاه روز فطرت بود — غرض وجود شریفش ز خلقت انسان
مکرمی که زلطف قدیم لم یزلی — حدیث منقبتش گشته زیور قرآن
امیر ملك ولایت که شد زمبداء حال — برای مدحت او مستعدّ نطق زبان

ولی در هیچیك از نسخهٔ قدیمه مانندحن و ہندی و ملك و نسخهٔ آقای رشید
یاسمی و نسخه آقای دبیرخاقان و نسخهٔ آقای تقوی شماره ۲ بهیچ وجه من الوجوه
از جملهٔ مزبور اثری نیست و بدون شك الحاقی می باشد از متاخرین در عهد
صفویه بقصد اینکه خواجه را نظریه بعضی مصالح شیعه قلم داد کنند۔ (ص
مو-صز)

Mirza Mohammad is absolutely correct in declaring the above sentence as spurious. This is fully confirmed by the only three early Mss prefixed with an introduction.

Another important observation of Mirza Mohammad regarding the doubtful name of the compiler of the Diwan Mohammad Gulandam occurring towards the concluding part of the introduction in some late Mss and even in the printed copies. Mirza Mohammad comments:

[illegible]

قرأت بسیار مهمی موجود است که از ین قرار است: در ہفت نسخه از یازده نسخۀ خطی دیوان که دارای این مقدمه می باشد و آن ہفت نسخه ہمه نسبتۀ اقدم و اصح از آن چہار نسخۀ دیگر اند۔۔ بعد از این جمله دعائیه ((عفا الله عنه ما سبق)) مطلقاً و اسمی از مولف این مقدمه که در عین حال جامع دیوان خواجه نیزہموست ہیچ وجه من الوجوه برده نشده است و ہمه این ہفت نسخه بعینه بهمین نحو اند که در متن ما چاپ کرده ایم یعنی ((مسعود این ورق عفا الله عنه ما سبق در درس گاه دین پناه الخ)) بدون علاوۀ ہیچ اسمی خواه محمد گلندام یا غیرآن، در صورتیکه در آن چہار نسخۀ دیگر یعنی نسخه الف، و سپه و نواب و نسخۀ اول آقای تقوی و در عموم نسخ چاپی بعد از کلمۀ ((ماسبق)) علاوه دارند: اقل انام محمد گلندام (یا گل اندام)، و این فقره یعنی اینکه در ہفت نسخه از یازده نسخه از این ابداً اسمی از جامع دیوان حافظ که بنابر مشہور درین اواخر محمد گلندام نامی بوده برده نشده، بدون هیچ شك و شبه تولید شك عظیمی در صحت و اصالت نام محمد گلندام می نماید و این احتمال را بی اختیاردر ذہن تقویت نماید که شاید این نام محمد گلندام الحاقی باشد از یکی از متاخرین گمنام که چون دیده این مقدمه بدون اسم مولف است خواسته ازین فرصت استفاده نموده آنرابنام خود قلمداد کند۔

Mirza Mohammad furnishes two other proofs in support of his point that the name Mohammad Gulandam is spurious as follows:

1) Daulat Shah in his Tazkira written in 892 A.H. does not mentain this name and refers the introduction to be prefixed by his معتقدان و مصاحبان after his death.

2) Sudi in his commentary in Turkish of Hafiz's Diwan also dose not mention the name Gulandam and attributes the introduction to some of the poet's friends after the latter's death.

As stated above the three early MSS. Viz., Gorakhpur Ms. dated 824 published jointly by me and Mr. Naini, the Ms. dated 836 introduced by Dr. Khanlari and British Museum Ms. dated 921,have the name Gulandam missing from the introduction. This may in a way support the view of Mohd. Qazwini that this name may be an interpolatoin. But very recently in an old anthology has been noticed a qasida by Mohammad Gulandam in praise of Sultan Abul Fath Ibrahim who had ruled over Fars from 817 to 838 A.H. on behalf of Sultan Shah Rukh. The anthology which had been compiled between 817 and 838 also contains 47 ghazals of Hafiz as well. This Qasida in praise of the above Prince is preceded by this heading.

ایضاً یمدحهٔ ۔ مولانا محمد گلندام گوید۔

From the poem it may be infered that Mohammad Gulandam used to compose poetry during the early part of his life; thereafter he took up Insha writing and عرض رسائل and تاریخ ملوک became his special fields of interest. Then he returned to Shiraz and got himself attached to the court of Sultan Abul Fath Ibrahim. Thus it is proved beyond doubt that a scholary personage of the name of Mohammad Gulandam was a contemporary of Hafiz. This removes the doubt of Mohammad Qazwini that Mohammad Gulandama may be an unknown personality of the late period (یکی از متاخرین گمنام). As the said Gulandam appeared on the scene much earlier than 838 A.H. (46 years after the death of Hafiz), it is certain that the inclusion of his name in the introduction must have taken place during the early years of the 9th century. In case there had not been any introduction with the name of the aforesaid compilor, how could this name be added to the introduction prefixed in the later MSS? The later scribes not being contemporary with Gulandam must have borrowed the name from early MSS. In other words it is convincingly proved that the early MSS, rather the earliest, must have contained Mohammad Gulandam's name with introduction from which it may have passed to the later scribes. The absence of the names from the existing early MSS may be explained in this way. The name of the poet and the compilor Mohammad Gulandam must have been written on the title page which when separated created so many problems regarding the authorship of the introduction.

One more point regarding the version of the introduction appearing in the Qazwini edition. One of the reasons for Hafiz's not sparing time to collect his writings according to the introduction prefixed to Qazwini's edition was his too much attachment to piety and benevolence (ملازمت بر تقوی واحسان) while according to the three early as well as several late MSS, it was due to his engagement in the teaching of the king (ملازمت شغل تعلیم سلطان). Another engagement according to Qazwini's edition was his preoccupation in his discussions respecting *Kashaf* and *Miftah*. But according to the earliest MSS it was due to his engagement in writing notes on *Kashf and Miftah.* The authentic version of the introduction fully supports the view that Hafiz was a teacher and

even as such could spare some time to write notes on *Kashf and Miftah.* The aforesaid variants in the text of the introduction to the Diwan-i-Hafiz happen to throw light on some very important facts about the life and career of Hafiz.

In short we may say that the compilor of the Diwan was perhaps no body but Mohammad Gulandam and the authentic text of the introduction is that represented by the Gorakhpur and the MSS dated 834 & 941.

CREDIBILITY OF THE DIWAN OF HAFIZ PUBLISHED BY THE LATE MR. QAZWINI AND BY DR. KHANLARI

The unusual popularity of Hafiz's Ghazals resulted in the multiplicity of the MSS of his Diwan to such an extent that very few books in Persian have been copied so many times. However, it is unfortunate that his writings could not be collected during his life time with the result that no authoritative and comprehensive MS of his Diwan was available even very shortly after the poet's death. It is also sad that the copies of the Diwan prefixed with the original introduction by the earliest compiler1 differ among themselv :s in respect of the number of poems, their ai :angement, the number of verses in each poem and their arrangement and above all the text itself. Since it is obvious that in cases where the MSS of a book have been multiplied, its text gets far from the original; and since the Diwan of Hafiz has been copied several hundred times, the magnitude of settling the text may be anybody's guess. This is why the question of preparing a critical and authentic edition of the *Diwan-i-Hafiz* has baffled all the scholars who undertook the task.

So far the most popular and reliable Diwan of Hafiz has been that jointly edited by the most eminent Mirza Mohammad Qazwini and Dr. Qasim Ghani and published in 1320 S/1360 H. It is based on the Khalkhali MS. dated 827 A. H. till then the earliest known MS. Qazwini regards the contents of this MS only as genuine and declares the additional poems available in others MSS and even in the printed copies, as spurious. As such he includes all the 495 ghazals of the Khalkhali MS in his edition and rejects the rest of them available in other printed and MS copies. Mr. Qazwini says:

چون نسخهٔ (خلخالی) که در (2) سنه ۸۲۷ھ کتابت شده عجالةً تا نسخهٔ قدیمتری ازان بدست نیامده آنرا باید قدیمترین نسخهٔ موجود تاریخ دار دیوان حافظ در دنیا محسوب داشت- لهذا من خود را ملتزم و مقید کردم که در خصوص کمیت اشعار یعنی از لحاظ عدهٔ غزلیات و عدهٔ ابیات هر غزل از ابتدا تا انتهای کتاب فقط و منحصراً همان نسخه را اساس کار خود قرار دهم و هر چه در آن نسخه موجود است از غزلیات و مقطعات و مثنویات و رباعیات تماماً بدون هیچ

زیاده و نقصان، آنها را چاپ کنم و هر چه در آن نسخه موجود نیست خواه غزلیات مستقل و خواه ابیات متفرقهٔ بعضی غزلها یا غیر ذالک آنها را مطلقاً کالعدم انگاشته بکلی از آن صرف نظر نمایم زیرا که چون این نسخه نسخهٔ کامل تمامی است از دیوان خواجه و انتخابی از آن نیست، پس هر چه درین نسخه نیست باحتمال بسیار قوی بلکه تقریباً بنحو قطع و یقین الحاقی و اشعار دیگرانست که بعدها در دیوان خواجه داخل کرده اند۔

Obviously the second conclusion in the above statement, declaring the poems not contained in the Khalkhali MS as spurious, is untenable. This can be easily rejected with the discovery of any MS earlier than Khalkhali's, i.e. A. H. 827. And it may be interesting to know that during late fifties I happened to[3] discover and study a MS of *Diwan-i-Hafiz* in the then Asafiya Library, Hyderabad which was dated 818 A. H., i.e. nine years earlier than Khalkhali's. Though a concise copy, the comparison of its contents yielded very significant results. This shorter Diwan containing 357 ghazals, 12 qitas and 20 rubais only, has eight additional ghazals, five qitas and three rubais rejected by Qazwini as being spurious. The opening lines of these additional poems are noted below:

Ghazals : 8.

ز دل بر آمدم و کار بر نمی آید
مژده ای دل که مسیحا نفسی می آید
صراحی دگر باره از دست برد
ساقیا مایهٔ شراب بیار
صبا بمقدم گل راح روح می بخشد
جانا ترا که گفت که احوال ما مپرس
ای ز شرم عارضت گل کرده خوی
([4]) ساقی اگرت هوای ماهی

Qitas : 5.

که بحکمت قطره را گردانده لؤ لؤ در صدف
ای جهان و هر چه هست از آفرینش در جهان
دل منه ای مرد خرد بر سخای عمرو و زید
حسن این نظم از بیان مستغنی است
دریغا خلعت و حسن و جوانی
نام بت من که مه ز رویش خجل است

چو جامه ز تن بر کشد آن مشکین خال
شیرین دهنان عهد به پایان نبرند ([5])

Qazwini's view was further rejected with the discovery of the Gorakhpur MS dated 824 A.H. by the writer fully introduced in the *Majalla-Iran-Shanasi*, Tehran University, 1394 solar, pp. 34-53 and later published in Iran in 1350, 1352 and 1354. It is also shorter than Qazwini's containing 435 ghazals, 17 qitas, 27 rubais, five fards only; still it has nine ghazals, six qitas, four rubais and two fards more than Khalkhali's, as detailed below:

Ghazals: 6.

صبح دولت می دمد کو جام همچون آفتاب
مژده ای دل که مسیحا نفسی می آید
جانا ترا که گفت که احوال ما مپرس
ای شام ز کوی ما گذر کن
ای از فروغ رویت روشن چراغ دیده
ای ز شرم عارضت گل کرده خوی

Qitas: 5.

دل مبند ای مرد خرد در سخای عمرو و زید
رحیم منکر خمّار بود روزی چند
شاها مسافری ز بهشتم رسیده است
کلک کوته نظرم بین که بر طغرل شاه
یا کار بکام دل مجروح شود

Rubais: 4.

آواز پر مرغ طرب می شنوم
مقبول دل خواص و مشهور عوام
راه طلب ز خار غمها دارد
([6]) باز آی که چشمت بجمالت نگرانست

Fards: 2.

تمنّای من از عمر و جوانی
([7]) شکّر شکر به شکرانه بیفشان حافظ

After deleting the common additional poems in the Asafiya and Gorakhpur MSS, the poems of these two MSS not incuded in the Qazwini edition, come to be thus:

Ghazals	:	11
Qitas	:	9

Rubais : 7
Fards : 2

These judged on Mirza Mohammad Qazwini's own standard are genuine and hence his view about their rejection[8] on the basis of spuriousness is wrong.

Dr. Parvez Natil Khanlari had been working for several years on a project of publishing a critical Diwan of Hafiz and had ultimately succeeded in publishing it in 1359 solar, nine years after our publication of the Gorakhpur MS., and again in 1362 S. It is certainly the best of all the editions of the Diwan of this great poet. He has based it on the following 16 source books:

1. An anthology dated 811 A.H., Koparlu Ahmad, Turkey, 36 ghazals: الف نسخة
2. A Majmu'a dated Rajab 813, Aya Sufiya, Turkey, 455 ghazals: ب
3. A Majmu'a dated 813-14 A.H., British Museum, London, 152 ghazals: ج
4. A collection dated 816, Aya Sufiya, Turkey: 153 ghazals: د
5. A Majmu'a dated 818, Asafiya Hyderabad, 357 ghazals: ه
6. An Anthology dated 807, Academy Tajikistan, 43 ghazals: و
7. A MS, middle 9th Century A.H., Oghlu Collection, Turkey, 357 ghazals etc: ز
8. A Majmu'a dated 821 A.H., Dr. Mahdavi, Tehran : ح
9. A MS dated 822 A.H. Top Qapu Sarai, Turkey, 442 ghazals etc. : ط
10. A MS dated 824, Sabzposh, Gorakhpur, India : ی
11. Nur Osmania Istanbul MS dated 825, 496 ghazals : ك
12. Khalkhali MS, 495 ghazals etc. : ل
13. A Safina dated 836, Dr. Mahdavi, Tehran : م
14. A Safina between 817-837 A.H. Sultanul Qurrai, Tehran, 47 ghazals: ن

Of these 14 source-books, Nos 2 & 10 have been utilised by the writer and Mr. Naini in their editions of 1352 & 1354S ; No. 5 has been introduced by the writer as early as 1960; No. 6 has been published twice in U.S.S.R.; No. 3 has been published twice by Dr. Khanalari himself; No. 12, the Khalkhali MS. is the basis of the oft-quoted Qazwini edition. Of the remaining 8, four namely Nos. 1, 4, 13 & 14 are part of anthologies and contain very short

number of poems; No. 7 is undated. The rest three Nos. 8, 9 and 11 are being used in the edition of the Diwan for the first time by Dr. Khanlari.

The contents of the Khanlari edition are as follows:

Ghazas	:	486
Ghazals (additional)		38
Qasidas	:	4
Tarkib Band	:	Only one *Band.*
Masnawis	:	3
Saqi Nama & Mughanni Nama	:	7
Qitas	:	54
Fards	:	5
Rubais	:	43

Dr. Khanlari has arranged the ghazals under two categories :

a) Ghazals available in three to four MSS about whose genuineness there may be no doubt, are 486 in number.

b) Ghazals quoted under this category termed as Mulhaqat are those which are either in one or in two to three MSS or available in some other poet's Diwan or are not similar in style. His words are :-

غزلهائی که زیر عنوان ملحقات می آید آنهاست که تنها در یك یا گاهی در دو سه نسخه از مجموع مآخذ ما وجود دارد، بعضی این غزلها در دیوان شاعران دیگر ثبت شده و غالباً می توان به صحت انتساب آنها به شاعری جز خواجه حافظ اطمینان داشت مانند قسمتی از قصیدهٔ مسعود سعد سلمان و دو غزل از سلمان ساوجی و جز اینها۔ بعضی دیگر که گویندهٔ آنها شناخته نیست یکسره دور از شیوهٔ خواجه و سست و مبتذل است، با این حال چون در مآخذ ما وجود داشته نخواستیم یکباره آنها را طرد کنیم، از آنچه در متن آورده ایم نیز غزل نمره ۳۶ به احتمال قوی از سلمان ساوجی است، اما در چندین نسخهٔ کهن ثبت است و ما ناچار از آوردن آن در متن بوده ایم۔ اینك غزلهائی را که صحت انتساب آنها به خواجه شیراز مورد تردید است، در ذیل می آوریم۔

Dr. Khanlari's basis of judging the genuineness of Hafiz's ghazals is just contrary to Mirza Qazwini's, because the latter's ground for declaring a poem genuine is its inclusion in the earliest known single MS. while the former would not accept any poem's genuineness even if it is included in one or in two to three MSS. This is why Dr. Khanlari has quoted the following eleven ghazals

of Qazwini's edition under *Mulhaqat* whose authenticity he has refused to accept :

No. 4 میر من خوش می روی کاندر سر و پا میر مت

It is included both in the Asafiya MS dated 818 A.H. and the Khalkhali MS dated 827 A.H.; no reason for its rejection has been given by Khanlari.

No. 9 درد ما را نیست درمان الغیاث

It is included both in the Nur Osmania dated 825 A.H. and the Khalkhali MS dated 827 A.H.; no reason for its rejection has been given.

No. 10 توئی که بر سر خوبان کشوری چون تاج

It is available in the Khalkhali MS only.

No. 11 اگر بمذهب تو خون عاشقست مباح

It is available in the Khalkhali MS alone.

No. 16 بعد ازین دست من و دامن آن سرو بلند

It is available in the above MS alone.

No. 18 هر گزم نقش تو از لوح دل و جان نرود

It is available in the Khalkhali MS; but it is also quoted in the Diwan of Nasir Bukhari; hence it may be from the latter's pen.

No. 20 جهان بر ابروی عید از هلال وسمه کشید

It is available in the Khalkhali MS alone.

No. 24 در آ که در دل خسته توان در آید باز

It is available in the above MS only.

No. 28 سحر به بوی گلستان دمی شدم در باغ

It is available in the Khalkhali MS alone.

No. 30 ای رخت چون خلد و لعلت سلسبیل

No. 32 بهار و گل طرب انگیز گشت و توبه شکن

These two are also available in the above MS only and in no other available earlier MSS.

However, regarding the conclusion of Prof. Khanlari. I would like to make the following observations :-

1. There is no convincing argument in favour of limiting oneself to the MSS. transcribed till 836-7, when quite a large number of MSS may be available in the various libraries of the world transcribed till the middle of the 9th century. Mohammad Qazwini has listed the following six MSS and this number may easily be multiplied:

1. Bodleian MS dated 843 A.H.

2. Chester Betty MS dated 853 A.H.
3. Majlis, Tehran dated 854 A.H.
4. British Museum dated 855 A.H.
5. National Library, Paris dated 857 A.H.
6. Majlis, Tehran dated 858 A.H.

Obviously there is a vry strong case for ther consultation when such a serious case as deciding the genuineness of the poems and verses be under consideration.

2. Prof. Khanlari has excluded various ghazals because of their non- availability in more than one or even two to three MSS. If the MSS transcribed till the middle of the ninth century scattered all over the world libraries, had been consulted, the position would have been quite different.

3. As no comprehensive MS of the Diwan was available even very shortly after Hafiz's death, the inclusion of a particular poem in an early 9th Century MS has every reason to be declared genuine if not proved otherwise.

4. Dr. Khanlari has not succeeded in making an objective study in respect of 38 ghazals quoted under "ملحقات". Some of the poems have been re- jected on the basis of the earlier decisions by Husain Pazhman who sometimes comes at erroneous conclusions. For example, he has declared the following Qita from Hafiz as spurious :

بر تو خوانم ز دفتر اخلاق   آیتی در وفا و در بخشش

Mr. Inju-e-Shirazi too has excluded it from his edition. But this onclusion is faulty. It is a genuine poem firstly because it is available in seven earlier MSS of the Diwan, namely No. 2 dated 813 A.H., No. 5 dated 818 A.H., No. 7 dated middle ninth century, No. 9 dated 822 A.H., No. 10 dated 824 A.H., No. 11 dated 825 A.H., No. 12 dated 827 A.H., and secondly because it is included in the *Bayaz-i-Tajud-Din Ahmad* Vazir[9] dated782 A.H. in the hand of Ahmad b. Muhammad Hasani.

5. A few ghazal have no doubt been quoted in the Diwans of some other poets. But the possibility of their wrong inclusion there may not be ruled out. In order to arrive at the correct decision profound research is required in respect of the authenticity of the copies of Diwan in which such poems are included. But such efforts in the most cases is lacking and the

decision is almost arbitrary.

6. The conclusion based on stylistic ground only is sometimes fraught with risks. Such cases should have been substantiated by some other points.

In short I fail to subscribe to the view of Dr. Khanlari regarding the suspicion about the genuineness of 38 ghazals under *Mulhaqat*[10]. To me most of them are authentic pieces and these should form part of the Diwan of Hafiz.

I would like to add a few points about the sources used in the edition of the Diwan under consideration. It may be noted that some important sources have escaped the notice of the Editor and I shall make an attempt to introduce them here briefly :

1. The *Majmu'a-i-Lataif and Safina-i-Zaraif*

It is an anthology by Saif Jam Herawi which exists in two MS., one in the British Museum, London (Cat. of Persian MS., Supp. No. 374) and the other in the Faculty of Letters, Kabul University. The exact date of its completion is not known but the work was started during the life time of Sultan Firuzshah Tughlaq (752-790 A.H.) and continued till the reign of Sultan Mubarak Shah Sharqi (803-804 A.H.). For the welfare of these monarchs and perpetuating of their rule Saif Jam has prayed to Almighty[11] which denotes that while the compiler was engaged in his work they were alive. Thus this work was started before 790 A.H. and was continued till some date after 804 A.H. In short the anthology which contains 127 ghazals from Hafiz, may be one of the earliest sources. Amongst Dr. Khanlari's earliest sources are two anthologies, one dated 807 and the other dated 811 A.H., the former containing 36 ghazals and th latter 43 ghazals.

The *Majmu'a-i-Lataif* has been fully introduced by the writer as early as Sep. 1966 through an article published in the *Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta in which the opening lines of al the ghazals were recorded. Somehow it escaped the notice of Dr. Khanlari.

2. and 3. *The Lataif-i-Ashrafi* and *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi*

The *Lataif* is a collection of the sayings and the Maktubat a collection of the letters of Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (d. 808 A.H.), a great Sufi Saint of India who lies buried at Kichhochha, a small village in the Faizabad district, U.P. Saiyid Ashraf came in contact with Hafiz and lived with him for some time. On his visit

to Shiraz the *Lataif*[11] says :

حضرت قدوة الکبری می فرمودند که خواجه حافظ شیرازی یکی از مجذوبان
درگاه عالی و محبوبان بارگاه متعالی است، باین فقیر نیاز مندی داشت و مدتی
بهمدیگر صحبت داشتیم، روزی در گازرگاه نشسته بودیم که سخنی در مراتب
اهل معارف و زهد می گذشت، مجذوب شیرازی خواند:

ز روی دوست دل دشمنان چه دریابد

چراغ مرده کجا شمع آفتاب کجا

The *Lataif* quotes Hafiz more than 27 times along with 27 verses as their illustration.

The letters contained in the *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi* were written to contemporary personalities including some nobles of the court of the Sharqi Kings of Jaunpur. The *Maktubat* has several references to Hafiz and has at least nine verses to illustrate some events.

Thus the *Lataif* and the Maktubat should occupy the most important place among the sources about Hafiz's life and writins. These two books have been fully introduced by the writer as early as January 1960 through an article in the *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Aligarh. This article was subsequently rendered into Persian and an article based on the translation was published by Dr. Ali Asghar Hikmat in the *Majalla-i-Danishkada-i-Adabiyat*, Pahlawi University in 1341 solar. This also escaped the notice of Dr. Khanlari.

It may be noted that Mr. Ruknud-Din Humayun published an article refuting the very existence of Saiyid Ashraf. The writer has published an article in the *Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta showing the absurdity of Mr. Humayun's deliberations.

4. The *Bayaz-i-Tajud-Din Vazir*

This is an important anthology[13] prepared in 782 A.H. on the request of the then Vazir named Tajud-Din Ahmad containing prose and poetical verses in the handwritings of the participants, who formed the important contemporary scholars and poets. The *Bayaz* which was prepared within the life time of Hafiz contains two ghazals and two qitas from this poet in the hand of three scribes as follows:

بخط شهاب الدین(14) محمد بن الصاحب المرحوم شمس الدین محمد
شهاب عز نصره لمولانا شمس الدین محمد حافظ دام فضله

خدا که ابروی دلگشای تو بست

گشاد کار من اندر کرشمه های تو بست

مـرا و سـرو چـمـن را ز دل بـرد آرام
زمـانـه تـا قـصـب تـرکش قبای تو بست
چو غـنـچه بـر دل مسکین من گره مفکن
چو عهد با سر زلف گره گشای تو بست
مـرا بـه بـنـد تو دوران چرخ راضی کرد
ولی چه سود که سر رشته در رضای تو بست
هم از نسیم تو روزی گشـایشـی یابد
چو غنچه هر که دل اندر پی هوای تو بست
تو خود حیات دگر بودی ای زمان وصال
دلـم امـید نـدانست و در وفای تو بست
ز دست جور تو گفتم ز شهر خواهم رفت
بخنده گفت که حافظ برو که پای تو بست
بخط احمد بن محمد الحسینی (15)

بـر تـو خـوانـم ز دفتـر اخـلاق
آیتـی در وفـا و در بـخـشـش
هـر کـه بـخـراشـدت جگر بجفا
هـمـچـو کـان کریم زر بخشش
کـم مـباش از درخـت سایه فگن
هـر کـه سنگت زند ثمر بخشش
از صـدف یـاد گیـر نـکـتـهٔ حلم
هـر کـه بـرّد سـرت گـهر بخشش

فی التاس عشر رجب المرجب لسنة ۷۸۲
احمد بن محمد الحسینی

بخط مظفر الدین (16) ملك السلمانی

مولانا شمس الدین محمد فرماید
روضـهٔ خـلـد بریـن خلوت درویشانست
پـایـهٔ مـحتشمی خـدمت درویشانست
آنـچـه زر مـی شـود از پر تو او قلب سیاه
کیمیائیست که در صحبت درویشانست
دولتـی را کـه نـبـاشد غم از آسیب زوال
بـی تـکـلف بـشـنو دولـت درویشـانست
گـنـج عـزت کـه طـلسمات عجایب دارد
فتح آن در نـظـر رحمت درویشـانست
از کـران تـا بـکـران لشکـر ظلمست ولی
از ازل تـا بـه ابـد فـرصت درویشـانست
روی مـقـصـود کـه شاهان بدعا می طلبند
مـظهرش آئیـنـهٔ طـلـعت درویشـانست

ای تـوانـگر مفروش این همه نخوت که ترا
سـر و زر در کـنف هـمت درویـشـانست
گـنـج قـارون کـه فـرو می رود از قـهر هنوز
خـوانده باشی که هم از غیرت درویشانست
حـافـظ آنجا بادب باش که سلطانی و ملك
همـه از بـنـد گـی حضرت درویـشـانست

بخط ([17]) ملك السلمانی
بسمع خواب رسان ای ندیم وقت شناس
بـخـلـوتـی کـه دران اجنبی صبا بـاشد
لـطیفـهٔ بـمیان آر و خـوش بـخـندانـش
بـه نـکـتـهٔ کـه دلـش را دران رضـا بـاشد
پـس آنـگه از کرمش این قدر بلطف بپرس
کـه گـر وظیفـه تـقـاضـا کنم روا بـاسد
پـس آنـگه از کرمش این قدر بلطف بپرس
کـه گـر وظیفـه تـقـاضـا کنم روا بـاشد
ملك السلمانی
فی اواخر رجب المرجب اثنین و ثمان و سبعمایة الهلالیه

5. An important anthology dated 816 A.H. is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna under serial No. 2478, P. No. 5753 containing forty nine ghazals of Hafiz along with the poetical and prose treatises of a number of writers. The date and the name of the scribe appears as thus :

حرره العبد تراب اقدم الفقرا الحسن الحافظ اصلح الله شانه فی عشرین ذی الحجه لسنة ست عشر و ثمانمایهٔ

At the end the date is the month of Zi-Qa'da which suggests that the MS was transcribed in parts and finally pieced together. The last piece was transcribed earlier:

فی شهر ذی قعده سنه سته عشر و ثمانمأیة و صلی الله علی خیر خلقه و اله۔

The Ghazals of Hafiz have such captions as :
ایـضـاً لـه، ولـه ایضاً، ولـه علیه الرحمه etc. and the MS, has all the orthographical characteristics of the 8th and 9th centuries' Persian writings. The Persian ذال has been retained throughout the MS which points to the early transcription of the MS.

It is in a beautiful Taliq calligraphy in very small letters. The scribe ([18]) الحسن الحافظ[18] was a good calligrapher.

The ghazals of hafiz cover ten pages in two columns, 25 lines in each column: i.e. 50 lines per page. The ghazals have been selected from radifs الف , ت and دال which suggests that the compiler had no definite plan of selection in his mind, otherwise there was no justification in selecting complete ghazals from three radifs out of the first four radifs. Since this Majmu'a has not been noticed so far, the opening lines of the ghazals are given below:

الا یا ایها الساقی ادر کاساً و ناولها
ساقی بنور باده بفروز جام ما
صوفی بیا که آینه صاف است جام را
رونق عهد شباب است دگر بستان را
صلاح کار کجا و من خراب کجا
اگر آن ترک شیرازی بدست آرد دل ما را
صبا بلطف بگو آن غزال رعنا را
دل سرا پردهٔ محبت اوست
ای نسیم سحر آرامگه یار کجاست
شربتی از لب لعلش نچشیدم
غمت تا در دلم ماوا گرفت
بیا که قصر امل سخت سست بنیاد است
کنون که بر کف گل جام بادهٔ صافست
روضهٔ خلد برین خلوت درویشانست
بلبلی برگ گل خوشرنگ در منقار داشت
خمی که ابروی چشم تو در کمان انداخت ۱۷
مدام مست می دارد نسیم جعد گیسویت
حسنت باتفاق ملاحت جهان گرفت
ساقی بیا که یار ز رخ پرده بر گرفت
رواق منظر چشم من آستانهٔ تست
زان یار دلنوازم شکریست باشکایت
یارب سببی ساز که یارم بسلامت
چه لطف بود که ناگاه رشحهٔ قلمت
ای غایب ز نظر بخدا می سپارمت
ای هدهد صبا بسبا می فرستمت
شنیده ام سخنی خوش که پیر کنعان گفت ۲۷
صبحدم مرغ چمن با گل نو خاسته گفت

سالها دل طلب جام جم از ما می کرد
بسرّ جام جم آنگه نر توانی کرد
بیا که ترک فلك خوان روزه غارت کرد
دانی که چنگ و عود چه تقریر ([19]) می کنند
نقدها را بود آیا که عیاری گیرند
شاهدان گر دلبری زین سان کنند ([20])
در نظر بازی ما بیخبران حیرانند
غلام نرگس مست تو تاجدارانند
شراب بی غش و ساقی خوش دوام رهند
چه مستیست ندانم که ره بما آورد
از سر کوی تو هر کو بملامت برود
ساقی حدیث سرو و گل و لاله می رود
من و انکار شراب این چه حکایت باشد
روز هجران و شب فرقت یار آخر شد
ستارهٔ بدرخشید و ماه مجلس شد
حافظ مسجد نشین دوش به میخانه شد
دل از من برد و روی از من نهان کرد
هر آنکه جانب اهل وفا نگه دارد
اگر ببادهٔ مشکین دلم کشد شاید
خوش است خلوت اگر یار یار من باشد
پیرانه سرم عشق جوانی بسر افتاد

Now it would be worthwhile to quote one poem which is available in both the MSS of the *Majmu'a-i-Lataif* but is absent from all the MSS of the Diwan only to be quoted[21] in the *Jami Nusakh-i-Diwan-i-Hafiz*.

ای وصل جان نوازت معمار خانهٔ دل
وای جان و دل ز لعلت مقصود کرده حاصل
قصر حیات باشد زندان جان شیرین
گر وصل تو ندارد سر در خرابه واصل
صحن سرای دل را شستم به آب دیده
در وی غمت بشادی جانان چو کرد منزل
از سوز سینه هر شب جان راست دست بر سر
وز آب دیده هر دم دل راست پای در گل

جانا به بحر عشقت بی آشنا و رهبر
کشتی دل فکندم تا کی رسد به ساحل
در جان و دیدهٔ دل ای مشتری شمایل
مهر تو سیر دارد چون ماه در منازل
بازی آی تا بنوشد جان شربتی ز وصلت
ای من ز جام هجرت نوشیده زهر قاتل
صد خون بگردن ای جان داری، چه باشد آخر
گر بی دلی کند دست در گردنت حمایل
از روی دلنوازی با ما اگر بسازی
جان پروریم با هم در عهد شاه عادل
قطب سپهر شاهی دریا دلی که دستش
کرد از سهاب احسان سیراب جان سایل
تا هست جوهر جان محمود باد سلطان
گشته ز دل غلامش هر دم هزار مقبل

Mahmud Shah was Shah Shuja's brother who was the ruler of Isfahan. But after defeating his brother Mahmud had ruled over Shiraz for about two years from 765 A.H. to 767 A.H. The above poem may have been composed during this period. Although on the stylistic ground it would be difficult to attribute it to Hafiz when his pen-name too be absent, since it is quoted under the name of Hafiz in both the MSS of the *Majmu'a-iLataif*, there is no way out but to accept Hafiz as its author so long as something otherwise is proved. It is obvious that the compiler of the anthology had a MS of the Diwan in which the aforesaid poem was included. It may be interesting to note that the MS of the Diwan consulted by the compiler was not arranged in alphabetical order which may be a reason to attribute its transcription to an early period.

The last point which I would like to make is that the following Qitas, Rubais and Fard available in the Gorakhpur MS, dated 824 A.H. have been excluded from Khanlari's edition without assigning any reason:

(22) رحیم منکر خمّار بود روزی چند
به آن دلیل که القاص لا یحب القاص
(23) کوته نظرم بین که بر طغرل شاه
سخن طعنهٔ هدهد بزبان می آرد

(24) تـا کـار بـکـام دل مـجـروح شـود
تـا مـلك تـنـم بـی مـلك روح شـود

(25) باز آی که چشمت بجاملت نگرانست
بـاز آ کـه ز هـجرت دل مـن خفقانست

(26) شکر شکر بشکرانه بیفشان حافظ
کـه نگـار خـوش شیرین حرکاتت دادند

(27) آواز بر مرغ طرب می شنوم
یـا نـفـحـهٔ گـلزار ادب مـی شـنـوم

(28) مـقبول دل خـواص و مفهوم عـوام
خـوش لهجه و موزون حرکت بدر تمام

(29) راه طـلـبـت ز خـار غمـهـا دارد
کـو راه روی کـه ایـن قـدمـهـا دارد

The following two poems available in the Asafiya MS have been excluded without assigning any reason thereof :

گه بحکمت قطره را گردانده لؤ لؤ در صدف
گه بقدرت خار را لعل بدخشان ساخته

ای جهان و هر چه هست از آفرینش در جهان
کرده در فطرب طفیلت خالق کون و مکان

The above discussion would show that the time has come that an authoritative Diwan of Hafiz should be prepared and published. This should be complete and perfect and be free from spurious poems and inclusive of all the writins of the poet. This is no doubt a great task which may be taken up by a team of seasoned scholars somewhat on these lines :

1. All the available MSS transcribed till the end of the ninth century scattered all over the world be collected.

2. Such historical works and anthologies be collected as may have references to Hafiz's writings.

3. By collating the MSS and then checking these with references in other works, a formula be evolved which may be judiciously applied to judge the genuineness of the poem.

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1. He may be Muhammad Gulandam, and the introduction represented by one prefixed in the Jalali & Nazir Ahmed edition, 1350 solar.
2. Introduction of *Diwan-i-Hafiz*, p. (لط)
3. For a detailed description of the MS see my article published in Majalla-i-Ulum-i-Islami, Aligarh; also my treatise, Tarikhi-o-Adabi Mutale, Aligarh:

1961, pp. 63-73.

4. In some MSS. it is a part of Tarkib Band (see Khanlari, P. 1043.)
5. The poems marked with asteriks are available in the Gorakhpur MS which is three years earlier than Khalkhali's whose description comes shortly.
6. It is not in the rubai metre; and is quoted by Pazhman under *qitaat-i-Mansub*.
7. For a similar line see, Diwan (Naini & Ahmad), P. 560 (margin).
8. The earlier MSS were not available to Qazwini and hence he was unware of their inclusion in the earlier MSS.
9. Isfahan, 1335, p. 581.
10. Vol. II, pp. 1001-24.

F.208 این بیت در وصف بناء قصر درگاه بقا جوی شہنشاہ اعظم فیروز شاہ معظم خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه۔ شاعری نبشته است۔

F. 223 این شعر از گفتار خان زاده عزیزالله بسطامی است دام فضله که بمدح سلطان اشرق خلد الله ملکه نبشته است۔

12. V. I. P. 81, V. II, P. 370; also *Fikr-O-Nazar*, 1960, P. 68.
13. The writer has introduced it in the *Nazr-i-Hamid*, New Delhi, 1981, PP.101-138.
14. PP. 432-37.
15. P. 581. The name of the poet is dropped perhaps because of its much popularity.
16. PP. 796-97.
17. P. 810. Perhaps because of its much popularity the name of the poet is dropped.
18. He should not be confounded with the poet : Hafiz. The MS was transcribed about 26 years after the death of the poet.
19. The 2nd hemistich runs as follows :

پنهان خورید باده که تکفیر می کنند

According to Qazwini تکفیر is a later substitute for تعزیر but *his* view is incorrect for this reading is available in early MS 6, see also; Jalali Naini & Nazir Ahmed P. 111.

20. Here the folio is transposed.
21. For a detailed notice see the article of Dr. M. Bilquis, *Fikr-o-Nazar*, V. XII, part 4, 1972, pp. 73-93.
22. Available in various MSS. See Diwan, Naini & Nazir, p. 545.
23. Available in the جامع شیخ حافظ, see *Ibid* p. 546.
24. This is a rubai, *Ibid.* p. 557.
25. This is quoted under rubai, *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.* p. 560.
27. H. Pazhman regards it spurious, *Ibid.* p. 553.
28. See *Ibid.* p. 556 (margin).
29. *Ibid.*

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF BAIHAQI'S NARRATION OF THE INDIAN EXPEDITIONS DURING THE REIGN OF MASUD OF GHAZNA.

Masud of Ghazna who was crowned as a king, according to Gardezi, in Shawwal 421/Oct. 1031 on his father, Mahmud's death and after a brief conflict with his (Masud's) brother Muhammad, was much interested in carrying forward the policy of his father with regard to Indian expeditions. Abul-Fadl-i-Baihaqi (d. 470) the contemporary historian and scholar, has narrated some of the important expeditions led during the reign of Sultan Masud (421-432/1031-1041) and in the present paper an attempt is being made to examine them critically.

In pursuiance of his policy towards India Masud thought of effecting a change in the civil and military personnel. Accordingly Ahmad-i- Yenaltagin[1] was appointed commander of the Indian army in Sha'ban 422/July-Aug. 1031. But prior to his selection much consultation was made. His name was suggested by the Sultan himself which was approved of by Khwaja Ahmad-i-Hasan,[2] Maimandi, the Grand Vazier. The Khwaja had ill feeling toward Ahmad-i-Yenaltagin, because he had formed many designs when the grand Vazier was discharging the fines imposed upon him. The Khwaja also was very inimical to Qadi-i-Shiraz Bul-Hasan Ali. At all events in his advice for the appointment of Ahmad the Khwaja deemed it allowable to set a great man like Ahmad-i-Yenaltagin against Qadi-i-Shiraz as the latter migh thus be disgraced.

The Sultan, however, directed the Khwaja to send for Ahmad to tell him all that was proper and needful. The Khwaja sent for Ahmad to whom the minister said, "The Sultan consulted with me in private to day on different issues, of which the most important was that of Hindustan. He said, 'there is man there like Qadi-i-Shiraz who wears a Soldier's garment but who is no commander. A general is needed there, one of renown and dignity to lead the forces and to exact tribute. It is the Qadi's business to carry on civil affairs and collect the revenue, but the general at his convenience makes war, takes tribute, seizes upon elephants and

chastises the refractory Hindus'. The Khwaja further told him that the Sultan had a very high opinion of him and he, the Khwaja, also sopoke about his bravery and experience. Subsequently the king gave order, and a robe of honour was prepared for Ahmed together with kettle-drums, flags, and all things usually given to generals of the army.

On Sunday, the 2nd of Sha'ban of this year (422) the Sultan ordered Ahmad to be taken to the wardrobe and he was invested with Khalat and the Amir received him graciously. The next day he again came to the court where he took the oath of allegiance and signed the articles of agreement which were entrusted with the record-keeper. The Khwaja further said to Ahmad, "You are a general and must act according to the articles and your agreement. You must not say anything to any person respecting the political or revenue matters. But you must perform all the duties of a commander so that that fallow, the Qadi, may not be able to put your hand upon you sinews and drag you down. His Majasty deems it advisable to send with you some of the Dailami Chiefs and some others of whom apprehensions are entertained along with some refractory slaves who have committed disloyal actions. You must take them all and treat them very kindly but they need not be allowed to go beyound the river Chandraha[3] (Chenab) without the king's order or without your permission. You must be careful not to let them mingle with the garrison of Lahore and not allow them to drink or to play at Chaugan." Ahmad was directed through a messenger not to take his son with him, though he was permitted to take with him his wife and children who lived in privacy.

On Saturday, the 25th of Sha'ban the King rode to the valley of Shahbahar with many attendants. Ahmad also accompanied and the King said to him, "Ahmad, be careful to understand the value of this favour. Keep my image ever before your eyes and do good service so that you may attain to greater honour". He promised to do all that could be required of a servant. Then the horse of the commander of the army of Hindustan was called for and he mounted and rode away[4].

Ahmad's expedition against Varanasi (Benares)

At the time of dispatching Ahmad-i-Yenaltagin the latter was

instructed to be watching against Qadi-i-Shiraz for he (Ahmad) was appointed general by the Sultan and that the Qadi had no control over him. Subsequently a difference took place between him and the Qadi with respect to the command of the army. The matter went far way. The army of Lahore and the warriors sided with Ahmad and he with followers formed a plan of going to some distant place. The Qadi sent messengers to the Sultan complaining of him. On the Sultan's seeking advice the Khwaja told that the Qadi should be informed that he had nothing to do with command or with the army. Ahmad must himself do what he ought to do, and take the revenue and the tributes from the Thakurs, go on expeditions and bring large sums to the treasury. Ahmad was much encouraged to know of the contents of the letter written to the Qadi. He marched out with his warriors and the army of Lahore, and exacted ample tribute from the Thakurs. He crossed the river Ganges and went down the left bank. Unexpectedly he arrived at a city called Benaras, and which belonged to the territory of Gang. Never had a Muslim army reached this place. The city was two *Farsangs*[5] square, and contained plenty of water. The army could only remain there from morning to afternoon prayer because of the peril. The markets of the drapers, perfumers and jewellers were plundered. But it was impossible to do more. The people of the army became rich, for they all carried off gold, silver, perfumes and jewels and got back in safety.

The Qadi on the achievement of this great success, was likely to go mad. He speedily sent messengers representing that Ahmad had taken immense riches from the Thakurs and tributaries the greater portion of which had been concealed and only a little had been sent to the court. His confidential agents had secretly accompanied Ahmad, and the accountants and the chief of the couriers had kept an account of all that he had exacted.

The message produced deep impression on Masud's mind. In the mean time bearers of good tidings also arrived and brought letters from Ahmad reproting the news of the conquest of Benares which was a very great achievement and by which the army had become rich. Immense wealth had been obtained, and tributes had been exacted from the Thakur's and several elephants had also

been obtained. His Majesty's servants wrote these letters from Indarbedi and were returning towards Lahore very happy.[6]

This is a summary of Ahmad's appointment as goveprner of India and general of the army, and of his expedition to Benares, as narrated in the *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*. I would like to make the following observaions:-

1. It is mentioned by Ibnul-Athir (*Kamil* IX,148) whose statements, though not free from errors, throw some more light on this expedition.[7] Ahmad b. Yenaltagin raided a part of the city and his attack was so sudden that the people[8] living a little far away[9], could not be aware of it. The Muslim army plundered the city and collected booty to such an extent that gold and silver were distributed by weighing in scales. No Muslim army had arrived before or after this invasion. Ahmad wished to attack the city for the second time but his men were not willing.

Ibnul Athir has stated Ahmad b. Yenaltagin to be the Naib of Sultan Mahmud b. Sabuktagin in India which is a mistake. He was appointed by Masud as stated by Ibnul-Athir himself (Ibid p. 160). The date of invasion, 421 A.H. as given in the *Tarikh-i-Kamil* is incorrect. Baihaqi places it at summer 424. The name of the city should certainly be Varanasi and not Nasri.[10]

2. The invasion of Benares is not mentioned by the contemporary historian, Gardezi in his Zainul-Akhbar or by any of the subsequent historians excepts Ibnul-Athir. This may bear a testimony that to these authors was not available the copy of the *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*. Abul-Hasan- Baihaqi, the author of *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, speaks about the non-availability of the *Mujalladat* of Abul Fadl-i-Baihaqi.

3. Instead of Benares expedition, Gardezi and his followers have referred to Masud's invasion of Sarusati, a fort in Kashmir pass. Ibnul- Athir is the only exception who has narrated both the invasions. Gardezi observes[11] as under:

'The Amir-i-Shahid, Sultan Mas'ud turned towards Hindustan in 424A.H. and laid a sieqe against a fortress in Kashmir pass called Sarusati. The people of the fort put up a gallant resistance but ultimately they had to surrender and thus the fortress was captured. The army rich with booty returned to Ghazni in the spring season'.

The campaign has been narrated by Ibnul Athir,[12] Nizamud-Din[13] Bakhshi, Firishta,[14] Badaoni[15] and others. But the most systemetic account is that which is given by Ibnul Athir. Narrating under A.H. 424, he observes:

'In Rajab Masud b. Mahmud b. Sabuktagin returned from Nishapur to Ghazna and then to India. The reason was this. On his succession to the throne, Masud appointed Ahmad b. Yenaltagin as his *Naib* in India to administer the affairs of the Indian territories. There he fully established himself. While marching to Khurasan on his way to Iraq, Masud received a message about Ahmad's revolt in India, and without proceeding farther, the Sultan speedily returned to Ghazna and after settling the affairs there, he turned his attention to India where he succeeded in supressing Ahmad's rebellion and causing him to accept his (Sultan's) allegiance. Then the Sultan marched against Sirusati and besieged and conquered this formidable fortress which even his father Sultan Mahmud failed[16] to conquer'.

Under the year 425 A.H. Ibnul Athir continues:[17]

'This year Sultan Masud conquered Sarusati and other neighbouring fortresses. The chief factor responsible for this expedition was Ahmad b. Yenaltagin's disobedience already cited. After subduing him, Sultan Masud stayed in India for pretty a long time. Then he marched to capture Sarusati which was one of the strongest fortresses in India. Masud besieged it as his father had done earlier. The besieged Raja agreed to pay a huge sum which he had intended to exact from the Muslim traders[18] living in the fortress. These traders somehow managed to contact the Sultan and instigated him not to give up the siege. The Sultan acted upon their advice and ultimately succeeded in capturing the fort. Then the Sultan conquered the neighbouring cities.

Masud had desired to prolong his stay in India but the disturbances in Khurasan compelled him to cut short his stay and leave for Iran. However in the mean-time he chanced to besiege a fortress called Naghsi (most probably Hansi) where he had arrived on the 10th of Safar 425/Jan. 5, 1034. However the Sultan was forced to give up the siege due to a witch craft.'

The above statement clearly shows that Masud's Indian expeditions in 424 - 425 preceded Tilak's appointment as the general

of Indian army who finally succeeded in crushing Ahmad-i-Yenaltagin's revolt.

There is a difference of opinion about the location and identifica- tion of the Sarusati fortress. In Kashmir we know no place bearing this name except a river mentioned by the Sanskrit poet, Kalhana in his Rajatarangini:[19]

"There when visiting the Shrine of the goddess Sharada, one reaches at once the river Madhumati and Sarasvati worshipped by poet". (First Book, 1. 37).

Mr. A. Stein has located the river in this statement:[20]

"The temple of Sharada rises in a prominent and commanding position above the right bank of the Madhumati. Immediately below the terrace to the N.W. is the spot where the waters of the Madhumati and Kishanganga mingle. To the N. a narrow chasm in the rocks makes the debouchure of the Sargan river which mountains and falls into the Kishanganga a short distance above the Madhumati. It is the Sarasvati of Kalhana's description, still known by that name to local tradition. To the W. the view extends to the high ranges which rise in the direction of Khagan.

It is not quite certain whether Masud invaded this part of Kashmir. However this much is known that Kalhana in his *Rajatarangi* refers[21] to Sultan Mahmud, the father of Sultan Mas'ud and not to Sultan Masud, in the account of a battle between Hammira,[22] as the Sultan is called and Raja Trilochanpal of the Hindushahiya dynasty.

However we have some knowledge about two rivers called Saraswati described in the Indian Gazetteer[23] thus:

Saraswati (1)–River of the Panjab rising in Sirmur state close to the borders of Ambala District. It debouches on the plains at Adh Badri, A few miles farther on it disappears in the sand, but comes up again about three miles to the S. at the village of Bhawanipur. At Balchhapar it again vanishes for a short distance, but emerges once more and flows on in a south-westerly direction across Karnal until it joins the Ghaggar in Patiala territory after a course of about 110 miles.

Saraswati (2)–A small but holy river of Western India rising at the south-west end of the Aravalli range and flows south-westward for about 110 miles into the Lesser-Raun of Cutch.

Probably the second Saraswati is identical with the river

mentioned by Alberunni in his *India*[24] which falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somanath. It was a sacred river mentioned in Puraha.[25]

Besides these rivers there was a city bearing the same name in the Panjab which is identical with the modern Sirsa[26] town the Tahsil head-quater of Hissar District in Haryana state situated at a distance some twenty miles from Hissar. It is an ancient town and under the name of Sirusti it is mentioned at a place near which Prithwi Raj was captured after his defeat by Muhammad Ghauri. The city is frequently mentioned in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.[27] Probably this was the city which Masud invaded and not a supposed city in Kashmir. Masud's leading an expedition to Hansi a fort in the neighbourhood in this connection, as stated by Ibnul-Athir, also lends support to this view.

4. Baihaqi has mentioned[28] Ahmad-i-Yenaltagin to have collected revenues from the *Takkars* which is a Persianised form of the Hindi word Thakur used in the sense of rulers. But at present it represents more a clan than an administrative term. The Indian word Jat has likewise been Persianed as Jatt. The substitution of a long vowel (a) by a short vowel ending on a تشدید gives an air of Panjabi accent.

5. Baihaqi is quite correct in stating that prior to Ahmad-i-Yenaltagin's time no Muslim conquerer had ever reached Benares.[29] In the *Ain-i- Akbari*[30] it is stated that Mahmud of Ghazna twice visited Benares in 410 (1019) and 413 (1022). But this seems quite impossible,[31] although local tradition says that this monarch overthrew Raja Barnar, the Chauhan. Legend also connects Benares with the expedition of Saiyid Salar Masud Ghazi, a general of Mahmud's army who is buried at Bahraich in the Uttar Pradesh. It seems that his incursion and that of Yenaltagin have been confused. Further, it is also curious that popular belief should assign Muslim governors of Benares and its Muslim settlement even to the days of Kanauj Kings.

6. In the *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi* the name of the city is Benares. It is a modern name the ancient name being Varanasi or Baranasi. In Beruni's *India* the word is spelt four times as Baranasi (V. I pp. 121, L. 6, 135, L4; Vol. II p. 465 LL. 6 and 9); one time each as Banarasi (V. I p. 16, L. 18) and Banarasi p. 159 L. 16. This proves that the

Banarasi, a Presianised form of Varanasi, is the correct reading while, the other two readings are cases of mis-spelling.

The name Varanasi, seems to be an even older appellation, but its source is some what doubtful. However the *Puranas*, the *Kash-Mahatmya* and the *Kashi Khand* assign the place a position between the Varuna or Barna and the Assi[32] and the compound of these two names affords an obvious derivation. The *Rajatarangini*[33] written about a century and a quarter after Ahmad's invasion calls it Varanasi. It may be interesting to note that as late as 1955 the modern name Benares has officially been substituted for the old Varanasi.

7. In the sentence:

ناگاه بر شهری زد که آنرا بنارس می گویند از ولایت گنگ بود

the last word بود is less appropriate, the correct reading being as appears in the footnote, for Gangadeva is identical with the Kalachuri ruler Gangeyadeva Cheda (popularly called Gangeya), the ruler of Dahala. The reasons for this identification are as follows:

1. The date of Ahmad-i-Yenaltagin's raid viz 424 H/33 falls in the period of Gangeya who ruled[34] from 411 to 432 H/1020 to 1041 A.D.

2. Gangeya son of Kokalladeva was the most powerful ruler of the period who had annexed the larger part of the northern India. He was the ruler of Dahala with its capital at Tripuri (Tiauri) and a second capital at Prayaga.[35] Besides some inscriptions[36] including one at Piawan dated 1037-38 he is mentioned by Alberuni[37] about 1030 as the living ruler of Dahala with its capital at Tiauri. Professor Hodivala seems to be correct in his suggestion that Ibn Zafir's Kabakan Tahada[38], or Nijada who ruled the country bordering on the territory of the Chandella ruler Ganda and who sent wonderful presents to Mahmud of Ghazna after the latter's generous treatment of Ganda, was identical with Gangeya[39] Cheda.

3. Gangeya carried his arms as far as Anga[40] (modern Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts) and this affords obvious explanation for his being in possession of Varnasi called Kasi as well.[41]

4. Gangeya's son Karnadeva was in possession of Kasi as is evident from his granting a vallage in Kasi to a Brahman who

performed his father Gangeya's first annual shraddha on 22nd January 1042 A.D.[42]

Professor Hadivala is correct in holding Gang (Gangadeava) of Baihaqi identical with Gangeya of Alberuni. But his argument to identify Utbi[43] and Gardezi's Chandar Rai with Gangeya is not convincing for Chandar Rai was the ruler of Sharwa[44] which had nothing to do with Gangya's Dahala and its capital Tripuri.

Gangeya was one of the most illustrious members of the Kalachuri dynasty. When he ascended the throne Kalachuri power was weak. But by his valour and diplomacy he revived the glory of his family. He extended his kingdom so far in the north as to include the major part of the Uttar Pradesh. As the Pratiharas were too weak to defend the holy places of the north against the Muslim invasion, Gangeya seems to have taken them under his protection, and to guard them effectively. He made Prayaga his second capital. He had assumed the imperial titles of Maharaja dhiraja and Parameshvara as appear in the Piawau rock inscription of his reign;[45] and even from the grant[46] of his grandson Yashaḥkarna, we learn that he assumed the coveted title of Vikramaditya. Even in the records[47] of his evemies he was called a world conquerer. At his death in jan. 1041 he left a fairly large empire which was further extended by his son Karna.[48]

8. The messages of good news were sent from Indrabedi. The alternative reading of the name of the place is Indra-dar-bandi which seems to be incorrect. Alberuni speaks of Duab as Indravedi (S. 1, 211). Indravedi or Antarvedi is the old Hindu name of the lower Duab from modern Etawah to Allahabad, though the term some times used loosely for the whole of Duab[49]. Probably Baihaqi refers to this region.

It would not be out of place to add that I have come across the name of a scholar called Maulana Alam[50] Indrapati or Indrabeti. But there is a village named Indrapat occupying the site of the ancient Indraprastha and situated in 28° 36' N and 70° 17' E. close to the modern city of Delhi.[51] The original town stood upon the bank of Jumna between Kotla of Firuzshah and tomb of Humayun, but the village of Indarpat and Purana Qala probably occupy the true site. A number of Muslim Scholars in the 7th and 8th century hailed from Indrapat such as Maulana Alam Indrapati,

Maulana Husam ud-Din Indrapati (Siyaul Auliya p. 181) and Maulana Rukn ud-Din Indarapati (pp. 267-268).

Lacuna in the Tarikh-i-Baihaqi:

In some of the editions and even in Mss copies of the *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi* there is a lacuna just after Ahmad's invasion on Benares[52]. Dowson, following Morelay observes that about a page and a half of matter is missing at page 498 of the Bibliotheca Indica text (p. 402 Tehran 1314). But in the Tehran text one appropriate sentence has been added (p. 403) which apparently fills the gap. Now the question arises whether the missing portion was only one sentence as supplied in the Teheran edition or one and a half page as evident from Bib. Ind. Edition or even more as suggested by Hodivala[53]. According to latter the lacuna is much more extensive and includes the events of no less than eleven months. But, as well be seen later, the events of about 9 months (and not 11 months) are missing; so one is bound to conclude that the lacuna certainly covers more than one and a half page.

The latest events of year 424 preceding the lacuna are:

1. Busahl Hamdavi's departure:
   Friday Ist Rajab 424 p. 395.
2. Grant of robe of honour to Gurgani messengers:
   Second Rajab 424 p. 396.
3. Departure of the messengers:
   Sunday 3rd Rajab[54] 429 p. 396.
4. Death of Abul Hasan Aqili:
   Monday 4th Rajab 424 p. 397.
5. Events in Nishapur
   Summar 424 pp. 397-400.
6. Ahmad's invasion on Benares
   Summar 424 pp. 400-402.

This is where the lacuna is found. But events related on the following page (403) is dated Friday Jumadi 11 (year not mentioned which is obviously 425). Then we have reference to Tuesday 15th Jumadi 11, 15th Rajab, Tursday 23rd Rajab, Ist Sha'ban, 5th Sha'ban (all on p. 409) and 16th Sha'ban, 3rd Ramadan (p. 411), Sunday 10th Ramadan 425 A.H. (p. 421). The diary of the rest of the year proceeds as usual. The dates 15th Ramadan, Tuesday Ist of Shawwal (p. 423), Friday 19th Shawwal

(p. 425), 27th Shawwal, 7th Zil-Qa'da (p. 432), 30th Zil-Qa'da (p. 433), Tuesday 15th Zil-Hijja, Wednesday 21st of Zil-Hijja (p. 435) appear successively. The 1st of Muharram fell on Saturday[55], 426 (p. 436). As Baihaqi has been particular in noting the week days on which the Ist of Muharram had fallen[56], the absence of any record for the initial days of 425 A.H. prove that the events of last four or five months of 424 and of the first five months of 425 are missing from the extant copy of the *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi.*

That the missing part might have contained the events of Sultan Masud's arrival in India in the last months of the year 424 and his conquest of Sarusati and Siege of Hansi, seems to be a probability in view of the following:

1. The period of Ahmad's revolt[57] coincides with Masud's invasion of Sarusati etc.
2. From Baihaqi's own reference it is clear that Masud visited India twice; while the existing history records the details of only one i.e. on the occasion of the conquest of Hansi. These are the[58] references:

نذر کردم که اگر ایزد عز ذکره شفا ارزانی دارد برجانب هندوستان روم تا قلعت هانسی راگشتاده آید و از آن وقت باز که به ناکام باز گشتم به ضرورت چه نالانی افتاد پس از قضای ایزد عز ذکره این خللها پردید آمد از رفتن دوبار، یك بار به هندوستان و یك بار به طبرستان......

To me the words یکبار appearing after دوبار is redundant for it is almost certain that the Sultan had visited India twice.

3. The sentences

سپه سالار گفت: احمد را چون از پیش وی بگر بخته بود، نمانده بود بس شوکتی و هر سالار که نامزد کرده آید تا پذیره او رود به آسانی شغل او کفایت شود۔

may perhaps refer to Ahmad's first revolt which was quelled, as observed by Ibnul-Athir, by the Sultan himself. As the context is not known, the editor of the Tehran codex finds the text confusing (p. 404 n. 2); whereas an incorrect translation of the passage appears in Eliot and Dowson, p. 125:

"The commander in-chief said: When one runs away from Ahmad there cannot be much honour left, but whatever general is sent against him, he will have enough to do for there is a strong force at Lahore."

To me the correct translation would be:

"The commander-in-chief said: Since Ahmad had fled before

him (the Sultan) there was not much honour left. Whosoever be appointed general if (generally) acceptable, his task would be easily accomplished for there is a strong force at Lahore."

4. Ibnul-Athir has[59] clearly stated that hearing Ahmad's revolt, Sultan Masud hastened towards India in 424 and after quelling the rebellion the Sultan attacked Sarusati in 425 and conquered it and other fortresses. Then he marched towards Hansi and laid a siege but as luck would have it, he was compelled to give up the siege and leave for Iran.

Apparently Ibnul Athir might have obtained the information from Baihaqi or other similar work.

In view of all this, our conclusion is that the existing history is defective and the lacuna most probably contained the Sultan's invasion of Sarusati etc.

The rebellion of Ahmad-i-Yenaltagin, his capture and his death:

Ahmad was not on good terms both with Sultan as well as Ahmad-i-Hasan, the Prime Minister. According to Gardezi the General had sided with Masud's enemy and consequent upon his succession, Ahmad was caught hold and made to discharge a huge amout of fine, and it was after paying off the dues that he was sent to India. This is why Ahmad b. Yenaltagin bore ill will against the Sultan during his tenure as commander in India. Gardezi observes:[60]

چون مال بداد او راسوی هندوستان فرستاد و سالاری هندوستان بد و داد و اورا
بجای البارروق الحاجب آنجا فرستاد و آن غضبها و مصادره و رنج و استخفا فها که بر
احمد ینالی تکین رسیده بود، اندر دلِ احمد بود، چون به هندوستان رسید سر از
اطاعت بکشید و عصیان پدید کرده۔

But this has not been disclosed by Baihaqi who has made a mention of the causes of Ahmad's differences[61] with the Khwaja. However the conditions imposed on Ahmad prior to his taking the new assignment in India, contained in the *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*[62] may lend support to the correctness of Gardezi's account.

The result was that Ahmad revolted after his raid on Benares in 424. And as we have seen earlier the Sultan himself took upon himself to suppress[63] the rebellion. He arrived in India and having accomplished his design, he captured Sarusati and besieged Hansi[64]

and left for Iran in early 424. But very soon after the Sultan's return, Ahmad revolted for the second time and news of this revolt disturbed the Sultan who at once sat in counsel with the Commander in-chief and others. It was decided[65] that a Hindu named Tilak be appointed General of the army to supress the rebellion of Ahmad. The Sultan gave power to Tilak to do whatever he deemed proper. He also sent a message to the secretary of State directing him to draw up a Farman and letters on behalf of Tilak. Subsequently the latter under took the command against Ahmad-i-Yenaltagain and proceeded to wards India on Tuesday the 15th Jumadi[66] 11, 425.

In the middle of the Ramadan[67] the Sultan received a message from Lahore that Ahmad had arrived there with several men; that Qadi-i-Shiraz with all his counsellers had entered the fort of Mandakkakur;[68] that there was perpetual fighting and the whole neighbourhood was in a state of turmoil and agitation. On the day[69] of Id Sultan Masud was informed that Ahmad had captured the fort. But it was also reported that Tilak had collected a power army and advancing in that direction. The Sultan ordered a letter to be written to Tilak in which he directed him to proceed against Ahmad with all speed. The Amir put his seal on the letter and added a postscript with his own hand, written with all the force which chracterised his style, imperious;[70] and was sent off with all haste. On the last day of Zil-Qa'da 425 A.H. messengers arrived[71] from Tilak bringing intelligence of his having been slain the rebel, of having taken his son prisoner and of his having subdued the Turkomans who were with Ahmad. The letter explained how the rebel confronted with him and was repulsed and fled before the royal army with three hundred horsemen. Tilak did not abate his pursuit and annouced a reward of five hundred thousnd dirhams. One day Ahmad had arrived at a river with two hundred horse men when he was surrounded by a huge number of Jats[72] and other Hindus. He plunged into the water while the Jats were attacking him and when they reached him, he attempted to kill his son but the Jats prevented him, and carried off the son and then fell upon Ahmad himself. He defended most gallantly but they at last killed him and cut off his head[73].

The Sultan was much relieved of his worries and ordered for

the return of the General to the Court who managed to arrive on the 6th of Zil Hijja 626 at Merwar-Rud. On the 10th of Safar 427[74] the Sultan invested him with a costly robe of honour and on the 14th of Rabi'I 427 a great feast was arranged to commemorate the well achieved success.[75]

This is a brief history of an important personality of the time of Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Masud whose political career was cutshort abruptly for his own follies.

Gardezi and other subsequent historians though agreeing with the main thesis of Baihaqi,[76] differ in respect of the following points:

(1) The campaign against Ahmad started according to Gardezi[77] and others in 626 and not in 625. But to Ibnul Athir it was the second revolt[78] and the first had occurred[79] in 624. As seen earlier Ibnul Athir's observation is more correct than that of others.

(2) The Ist General sent against Ahmad was also a Hindu named[80] Nath who was defeated and killed in the encounter. This has been overlooked both by Baihaqi and Ibnul-Athir.

(3) In the *zainul Akhbar* [81] the next General Tilak has been stated to be the son of Jahlan while in the *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi* [82] he is called the son of a barbe. Subsequent historians mention him Tilak b.[83] Husain, Tulak[84] b. Husain, Tulak b. Jaisen[85] and even Malik b.[86] Jaisen. Obviously Jaisen though a meaningful combination, is a mistranscription of Husain found in Frishta and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*; while Husain seems to be a mis-spelling of Jahlan for the latter form is found in the oldest record and Hodivala[87] finds Jalhana or Jahlansi as old name in dynastic lists and inscription.

(4) Gardezi has stated that pressed by Tilak, Ahmad fled before the royal army and made his way towards Mansura and Sind. He was about to cross the river when a storm arose and the general was drowned. His dead body was thrown on the bank of the river and some one in the enemy's army recognised his body and cut off the head and sent it to the Sultan at Balkh. But Ibnul Athir[88] though agreeing with Gardezi has more to say on this particular topic:

[illegible] Tilak's army, Ahmad hastened towards Multan [illegible][89] Even at this time Ahmad had a

large army and so the Raja could not intercept him. Ahmad asked for boats to cross the Sind river which the Raja supplied. There was an island in the river and Ahmad and his fellows misconceaved it to be joined with land. The boats men left them in the island and went away. Ahmad and his men had to stay there, but they had provision for nine days only and they could not cross the deep river. In the meantime the Indian army entered the island and killed most of Ahmad's men and Ahmad committed suicide.

(5) Gardezi and his followers have not made a mention of Ahmad's son having been taken as captive.

Masud's expedition against Hansi:

On the third day[90] of the Id-i-Adaha 428, Masud held a special meeting of his counsellors to decide which way to send the army. On the counsellors' query the Sultan disclosed that he had made a vow of at the time of his illness at Bust[91] (after the accident in the Hermund river on Safar 7, 428 A.H.) that if God would restore him to health, he would go to Hindustan and take the fort of Hansi; for, from the time that he returned from the place without accomplishing his object he had been much worried. Thus he was firmly determined to go there. And so long the fort is not conquered he would undertake no expedition. He would also expect to return to Ghaznin before the Nauruz Festival[92]. He would however like to hear the views of their as well. The minister said that his Majesty should on no account go to Hindustan. He should proceed to Marv so that Khurasan, Ray and Jibal be subdued. But if his intention was to conquer Hansi, the Chief of the Ghazis, the Lahore garrison, and a chamberlain deputed by the Court might undertake the business. If the Turkomans should conquer a corner, or even a village and mutilate, slaughter, and burn, then ten holy wars at Hansi would not compensate.[93] But the Sultan was determined to go to Hansi and lead the expedition.[94]

In accordance with the decision on Monday, the 19th of Zil-Hijja the Sultan rode[95] early in the morning and went to Firuzi garden, that he might see the differnet detachments of his army pass by in view and afterwards about mid-day prayer, his son, the minister and the comander, came on foot and paid him their respets. At last, on Thursday, when eight days of Zil-Hijja remained, the Amir[96] departed from Ghazni on his way to India by

the road of Kabul, to prosecute his holy war against Hansi. He remained ten days at Kabul. On Thursday, the 6th of Muharram (429) he left Kabul, and on Saturday the 8th despatches arrived from Khurasan and Ray; but the Amir cared nothing for them and told Baihaqi's preceptor, Bu Nasr to write a letter to the minister. On Tuesday, when five days of Muharram remained the Amir arrived at the Jailam and encamped on the bank of that river near Dinarkota.[97] Here he fell ill, and remained sick for 14 days. So in a fit of repentance he forswore wine and ordered his servants to throw all his supply into the Jailam, and to destroy all his other instruments of frivolity. Bu Said Mushrif was sent secretly to the fort of Janki Hindu on a business.[98] They were still on Jailam when news arrived of the great Rai and the state of the roads to Kashmir, and they were still there when intelligence reached of the death of the Rai of Kashmir.

On Saturday, the 14th of Safar, the Amir had recovered, and on Tuesday, the 17th he left Jailam and arrived at the fort of Hansi on Wednesday the 9th of Rabi I and pitched his camp under the fort which he invested. Fights were constantly taking place. The garrison made desperate attempts at defence but the fort was stormed on Monday, ten days before[99] the close of Rabi I. The Brahmansa and other men were slain, and all the treasure which was found was divided amongst the army. The fort was known in Hindustan as "The Virgin" as no one yet had been able to take it.

On Saturday, when five days remained of this month, the Sultan left Hansi and returned to Ghazni on Sunday, the 3rd of Jumadi I. On Tuesday, the 26th[100] Jumadi I the festival of New Year's Day was celebrated and a drinking bont was also held in which he repaid himself for his past abstinence, far from the time of his repentance on the Jailam to that day, he had drunk nothing.

This is the summary of Baihaqi's narration about Masud's conquest of Hansi. I would like to make a few observations:

1. The words:

به جانب هندوستان روم تا قلعت هانسی راگشاده آید و از آن وقت که به ناکام از
آنجا باز گشتم به ضرورت چه نالانی افتاد۔

clearly refer to Sultan Masud's earlier expedition to this fort. This is again supported by Baihaqi's reference to his going to India two times (he has certainly not in mind the Sultan's last visited in which

he met with his death). The Imperial Gazetteer of India also mentions the capture of the fort in the second[101] attempt.

2. Hansi is the headquarter of the sub-division of the same name in the Hissar District, Haryana, situated in 29° 7' N. and 75° 78' E. on Rewari - Bhatinda line about 15 kilometers from Hissar. Hansi appears to have been a stronghold of the Kushans, though the local tradition attributes its foundation to Anagpal, the Tomar King of[102] Delhi. According to Todd's *Rajasthan*[103], Asi or Hansi during the early 11th century A.D. was under the Sway of Chauhan Kings, Bisaldeo, his son Anuraj and grandson Ishtpal, and Masud seems to have fought with one of these rulers. According to Firishta,[104] Hansi was recovered by the Delhi Raja seven years after its conquest, during the reign of Maudud of Ghazna (432). It fell into the hands of Muhammad of Ghaur about a century and a half after its recapture. The famous Sufi poet of the time of Iltutmuish, Qutb Jamal Hansawi is buried in the town.

1. The Jhelum (Jailum) river whose original name according to *Rajtarangini*[105] and others was Vitasta, finds mention in Alberuni's[106] *India* with its old name as Biyatta[107] (certainly a mistranscription of the Sanskrit Vitasta) and the common name as Jailum. According to Alberuni the river rises in the mountain Haramakot, where also the Ganges rises, cold, impenetrable regions where the snow never melts or disappears[108]. But Alberuni's view is not correct for the river Ganges takes its root from quite a different and far off place towards the east, while we know for certain that Jhelum rises from Vernag in Shahabad Pargan below the famous Banihal pass. Mr. A Stein's view[109] is that the reference is to the sacred Ganga Lake at the fort of the mount Haramu- kuta's glacier in which the Kashmirian tradition places the source of the Sindhu (Sindh) river. The latter is the greatest tributary of Vitasta within Kashmir and is tradition ally identified with the Ganga, as on the other hand the Vitasta as the Yamuna.

According to A. Stein Ghelum is of Muslim origin and this name is applied to Vistasta in its course through the Panjab. But obviously Alberuni who uses Jailum as a substitute for Biyatt[110] (Vistasta) makes no reference to this effect.

4. Dinarkota or Dinarguna has been stated to be a town near the bank of the Jhelum. The second reading is quite incorrect for

both the terms (dinar) and (Guna) are Persian; the latter term is certainly (Kot) or (Kota) which is available in some Mss. But (Dinar) may be a mis- transcription of (Dina) or any other similar word.

Mr. Hodivala[111] puts forward some alternative suggestions about the correct name of the place. He observes:

"The camping ground has not been identified because "R" and "K" have been transposed by the scribe. The place meant is most probably Dhangrot or Dangrot on the Jhelum, still a well known place of Mahseer fishing on that river. It is now in the Jhelum District. It is also called Tangrote and is close to Dina a Railway station eleven miles north of Jhelum town. This Dhangrot should not be confused with Dinkot or Dhankot which is mentioned some times in the Mughal Chronicles. Dinot was situated on the Indus about seven mıles above Kalabagh. It has now been washed away.

There may also be a possibility that Dina, the Railway station about 11 miles from Jhelum, might be the site referred to by Baihaqi.

5. The ruler to whom Masud sent message from Jhelum is called Jaki, perhaps a mistranscription for Janki. He seems to be identical with Jangi or Changi as quoted in *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*[112], *Zainul*[113]*-Akhbar* and *Atharul-Wozara*[114] etc. in connection with the imprisonment of Khwaja Ahmad b. Hasan Maimandi and in the *Tarikh-i-Yamini*[115] in connection with Mahmud's invasion. From Baihaqi's another observation (p. 181), also quoted in Firishta (V.I. p. 40) it is clear that the Khwaja was imprisoned at[116] Kalinjar a fort in Kashmir, though the ruler is not mentioned. While in the *Atharul Wozara*, the name of the place spelt a little differently Kalinjar, appears along with its ruler Jangi or Changi. Thus it becomes quite clear that Khwaja Ahmad was confined in the Kalinjar fort whose ruler was Janki[117] and with whose order the Khwaja was released on the request of Sultan Masud. It was the same Janki to whom the Sultan contacted on the occasion of his invasion of Hansi.

Utbi[118] has mentioned Jangi or Sabli, son of Shahi, son of Bahmi who held the passes into Kashmir to have come forward with offer of alligiance to Sultan Mahmud and his services as a

guide. Dr. Nazim identifies Jangi of Baihaqi to whom the Khwaja was entrusted during his captivity, with this Jangi or Sabli of Utbi with the conclusion that the correct name would be Janki and not[119] other ones. Hodivala supposes[120] that correct form of Bihmi is Bhimi. The infamous Kashmir Queen Didda was the maternal grand daughter of Bhimi Shahi of Waihind and her father was a prince of Leher. It is possible that a son and grandson of Bhim Shahi had also married in the Lohar family and this Janki was the issue of that union.

The Kalinjar fort was situated in the southern hills of Kashmir and Sir Aurel Stein, seems[121] to have correctly located it in the direction of Kotli.

This Kalinjar which has been occasionally mentioned by Kalhana and other Muslim historians, should not be confounded with the well-known Kalanjar fort in the Banda District, U.P. for the obvious reason that the former was situated in the Kashmir Hills.

This place has been spelt in three ways:

Kalinjar (*Baihaqi, Zainul Akhbar, Rajatarangini* viii LL. 204) 618, 915 and others).

Kalinjar (Atharul-Wazara p. 178).

Kalinjar (Rajatarangini vii L 1256).

But the more popular form is Kalinjar[122]. Dr. Nazim[123] spells it as Kalanjar as against Kalinjar of U.P. while Sir Stein spells the other way.[124]

5. Some of the editors of the *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*[125] and *Zainul Akhbar*[126] have called Janki as (Kotwal), (Mahafiz) and (Zindanban) but the status of these officials is too small to warrant communications from Sultan Mahmud and Masud through emissaries. It is obvious that he held an independent position of a ruler or governor who owed his allegiance to the Ghazni Sultans.

6. Baihaqi has called the Hansi fort as the Vrigin fort on the ground that no invader could ever conquer it. And when it was captured by Masud, Gardezi used the sentence: حصار عورت شد this observation lends support to the suggestion put forward by Baihaqi. Prof. Habibi has correctly pointed it out in his edition of the *Zainul-Akhbar.*[127] This may be cited in support of the argument that Mahmud could not conquer the fort during his Indian

expeditions.

As the minister had anticipated (p. 531), the Hansi expedition turned to be harmful. And this has been acknowledged by the Sultan. Baihaqi[128] observes:

'On Tuesday, the 3rd of *Jumadiul-Akhir* very important despatches arrived from Khurasan and Ray, stating that during his absence the Turkomans, at the beginning of winter, had come down and plundered Talqan and Fariyab, and misfortunes had fallen on other places where it was impossible for the victorious army to reach at such a season. All this had befallen on account of the Sultan's expedition to Hansi. Ray itself was in a state of siege. The Amir was ashamed of his having gone to Hindustan from which he had derived no advantage.

Now we pass on to a comparative study of Baihaqi's account of the above expedition with those of Gardezi and his followers. This study would at once reveal that the copies of Baihaqi's history were not available to other class of historians and as such they have mostly to depend on Gardezi's *Zainul Akhbar.*

Gardezi[129] has stated that in Zul-Qada 427 Sultan Masud proceeded to India with a view to capturing Hansi which was accomplished after six days' encounter. Then he turned towards Sonipat which was under the Sway of Dibal Haryana.[130] As soon as the Raja heared the news of attack, he fled and took refuge in a nearly jungle. The Geznin army made a pursuit of him and Dibal finding himself incapable of encounter again fled. Then Sultan Masud led an expedition to Dera-i-Ram.[131] On hearing this expedition Ram sent presents to the Sultan with an excuse for absence from the court. He was an old man unable to come in person to the Sultan. Sultan Masud then returned to Ghaznin and entrusted Lahore to his son Amir Majdud. The Task of the conquest of Hansi was accomplished in 428 A.H.

Frishta[132], Badaoni[133], Nizamud-Din[134] Bakhshi have generally endorsed the above statement which differs from what is stated in the *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi* in respect of the following points:

1. Baihaqi fixes[135] the starting date Zul-Hijja 22, 428 A.H. while Gardezi and others, Zul-Qa'da 427 A.H.

2. According to Baihaqi the fort had been besieged for ten or eleven days from Rabiul-Awwal to Rabiul Awwal 20, and on this

date the fort was captured.

3. According to Baihaqi Masud had stayed in Hansi for 17 days and thereafter he returned to Ghaznin and arrived there after 37 days; while the inward journey took 71 days with 10 days' stoppage at Kabul and 20 days' stay at Jhelum. Thus the actual days spent in journey were 39 days. From this calculation it becomes clear that the Sultan, in the mean time, did not lead any other expedition. But as we have just seen that according to Gardezi and others, the Sultan after accomplishing the Hansi expedition, turned towards Sonepat. He went and drove back its ruler, and thence to Dera-i-Ram and personally supervised its expedi- tion.[136] This cannot be adjusted with Baihaqi's account for the Sultan had a fixed programme. He was bound to return before the New Year's Day. and as we have seen above, he succeeded in accomplishing his task according to his scheduled programme and arrived in Ghaznin 17 days before the Naurauz festival. Since Baihaqi has narrated his account with actual dates and days with accuracy and precision and since he was somehow associated with what had happened, we have no alternative but to accept his version. It may be possible that the expeditions to Sonepat and Dera-i-Ram might have been led by Masud's generals and not by the Sultan himself. However this discrepancy cannot be accounted for.

4. According to Gardezi,[137] Prince Majdud was assigned Lahore while the Sultan was returning from Hansi expedition, which further suggests that the Prince accompanied the Sutan in this expedition. His words are:

از آنجا (هانسی) باز گشت و روی به غزنین نهاد، پس امیر مجدود بن مسعود
را ولایت لاهور داد و طبل و علم داد و اورا به حشم و حاشیت سوی لاهور بفرستاد
و خود سوی غزنین آمد۔

But Baihaqi reveals that the Sultan had appointed Prince Majdud the governor of Lahore on Zi-Qa'd 3, 427, almost 13 months before he started for Hansi expedition. His words[138] are:

روز یك شنبه نوزدهم (شوال) بـه بـاغ صد هزاره آمد...... بیست و ششم
ابوالحسن عراقی...... سوی هرات رفت...... روز شنبه سوم ذی القعده خداوند زاده
امیر مجدود خلعت پوشید بامیری هندوستان تا سوی لاهور رود۔ خلعتی نیکو
چنان که ایران را و هند خاصه فرزند چنین پادشاه باشد...... و دیگر روز پیش پدر آمد
...... تجیه کرد به باغ پیروزی و سلطان در کنارش گرفت و وی رسم خدمت و وداع

به جای آورد و برفت ...... روز شنبه بیست و چهارم ذی القعده مهرگان بود......

The details of the facts narrated with actual dates account for the correctness of Baihaqi's version.

Before I conclude I would like to summarise Baihaqi's account of Sultan Masud's last visit to India where he was treacherously murdered.

Shattered and frustrated by the complete failure of his army in the expedition against the Turkomans, Sultan Masud decided to retire to India[139] and spend the winter in Waihind,[140] Marmanara,[141] Purshur,[142] Kiri[143] (or Giri) and other[144] places. The Sultan was so determined that the dissuation by the Grand Vazier and other counsellors could not change his mind. Having collected treasures, his choicestmen and members of the royal household the Sultan left for India in Safar 432.[145] Baihaqi leaving the rest of the account to the other volume (unfortunately lost) concludes that on Thursday, the 15th of Shaban 432 the city was celebrating the achievement of the royal army against Khwarazmshah and others and on the next day the Friday sermon was being delivered in the name of the caliph of Baghdad and Amir Masud without any body knowing that the Sultan had been treacherously killed some 2 days before in India in the fort at Kiri (or Giri).

During the reign of Sultan Masud of Ghazna (421-422) there had been three expeditions to India: the first after Rajab 424 against Benaras led by the newly appointed commander of the Indian army, Ahmadi-Yenaltagin; the second very shortly thereafter led by Sultan Masud himself to quell the rebellion of the above Ahmad and then to capture Sarusati and other adjoining forts (not available in the existing *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi* but most probably contained in the missing portion of the same); and the third again led by the Sultan in order to conquer Hansi, the present paper aims at examining and elaborating some points of historical, and geographical importance. But the most disappointing thing is the unusual absence of the contemporary historical and geographical records in India and except some inscriptions such as the rock inscription of Gangeyadeo dated Kalachuri year 789/ 1037-38 A.D. published in *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* Vol. XXI p. 112 ff and plates of Karna dated Kalachuri year 793/ January 1042 published in *Asiatic Researches* Vol. IX p. 108, there is

nothing which might be fruitfully utilised in a study like this, with the obvious result that even some of the names of Indian rulers, of Indian towns and forts and their locations still remain as unsettled as before.

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1. The compound احمد ینالتگین is an example of اضافت ابنی signifying that Ahmad was the son of Yenaltagin (see Ibnul-Athir, IX, 143). The correct name of Ahmad's father was Yenaltagin and not Nialtagin as appears in one of the editions and some Mss of the *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi* (see Cal. ed. pp. 496-98 etc.), *Zainul Akhbar* Nazim's ed. pp. 97-102, Eliot & Dowson, II pp. 116-25, 129-32 and Hodivala, p. 162. For the correct name refer to *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi* (Tehran 1329) pp. 267, 269, 400-404, *Tarikh-i-Baihaq*,pp. 271-72, 347, Ibnul-Athir IX, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Taliqat* p. 397 etc.
2. In احمد حسن there is the same اضافت ابنی signifying that the minister bore the name of Ahmad, and that his father was Hasan. But in most of the books in English the name is incorrectly written Ahmad Hasan instead of Ahmad-i-Hasan. It is not a compound name such as Shahjahan in which the Izafat has been dropped.
3. The river Chenab was originally called Chandrabhaga, see Kalhana Vol. I 468, VIII 11, 554, 626. Alberuni mentions both the names Chandrabhaga and Chandraha, Sachau I, p. 259.
4. *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, Tehran 1324, pp. 266-271. I have mostly followed the English rendering of Eliot & Dowson II, pp. 116-122.
5. Farsakh or Farsang is 4 Arabian miles, which, according to Dr. Stein is a little short of five miles (Hodivala, pp. 43-44). From this it may be concluded that Kashi and even perhaps the Buddhist Sarnath were included in it for in Sanskrit literature Kashi and Varanasi are interchangable terms, and Sarnath is about 4 miles north of the present city.
6. In Eliot & Dowson, it is mid-day prayers (p. 123). But in the text is نماز دیگر (p. 402) which means نماز عصر ; نماز پیشین؛ meaning نماز ظهر may be translated as mid-day prayer and not نماز دیگر, see *Tarikh* p. 355. هر دو نماز پیشین و دیگر
7. Ibnul Athir IX p. 148:سوق العطارین و الجواهرین ; only two markets; and not one market.
8. Persian text pp. 400-402; Eliot and Dowson II, pp. 122-125.
9. The words: باقی اہل البلادیم یعلموا بذلك لان طوله منزل الهنود و عرضه مثله may suggest that since the raid was made on the part of the city which was away from the residence of Hindus, it may be the Budhist city of Sarnath which is at a distance of 4 miles.
10. Teh. ed.
11. *Zainul Akhbar*, Teh. 1347, p. 198.
12. IX pp. 160, 162.
13. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I. p. 22.
14. Vol. I p. 41.
15. *Muntakhabut-Tawarikh*. I. P. 22.
16. Vide also p. 162. But it is not mentioned in any source-books available to

us. Probably Mahmud's invasion on Sirsawa in 409 (M. Nazim, Sultan *Mahmud of Ghazna* is quite different from Sarsuti (see Cunningham, Archaelogical Survey of India, XIV, p. 79.

17. IX p. 162.
18. This is also mentioned in Firishta, V. I. p. 42.
19. First Book 1 37.
20. Kalhana 11, p. 282.
21. *Ibid* BK VII 11.5356
22. This is an obvious adaptation of Amir, see Nazim: *Sultan Mahmud* pp. 8 & 92 n 4.
23. V. XXII p. 97.
24. Sachau I, pp 257, 261, 45, II p. 105.
25. Sachau I, pp. 142,
26. Imperial Gazetteer XXII p. 145 (last line), XXIII, p. 45.
27. See, Kabul ed. V.I, pp. 400, 407, 452, 484.
28. P. 401.
29. Jarrett, II p. 158.
30. Abul Fadl's authority on such a point is of little or no weight specially as both Utbi and Gardezi are siletnt and Baihaqi denies. This is further supported by Alberuni who observes that the 'Holy City' had never been harried by the iconoclast Sultan of Ghazna, Sachau I; 22 (see, Hodivala p.151 and Eliot, 11 p. 59).
31. District Gazetteers of United Provinces, Vol. XXVI, p. 184.
32. The Assi is a mere brook and the city is situated on the left bank of the Ganges, between the *Barna Nadi* on the N.E. and the *Assi Nala* on the S.W. (Cunningham, Ancient Geog. of *India*, p. 437).
33. Book III LL. 297, 320; VII, LL 846, 1007, 1010; VIII L 13.
34. Mirashi: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. IV, Inscriptions of the Kalachuri Chedi era, Introduction; Studies in Indo-Muslim His. p. 73.
35. Corpus Inscriptionum, IV, Introduction.
36. Archaeological Survey of India Reports XXI pp 112 and plate XXVIII.
37. Sachau: *Alberuni's India* p. 202.
38. Studies in Indo-Muslim His. P. 73.
39. Prof. Hodivala has argued that کابکت is the corrupt form of گانگیہ and نجدہ or تجدہ of chia (see, studies in *Indo-Muslim Hist.*
40. Corpus Inscriptionum, IV, Introduction.
41. See Banaras plates of Karna, Asiatic Researches Vol. IX, p. 108.
42. Studies in *Indo-Muslim His.* pp. 148, 161.
43. Tarkih-i-Yamini, p. 311.
44. Zainul Akhbar p. 183.
45. M. Nazim: Mahmud of Ghazna pp. 93, 109.
46. Archaeological Survey of India Reports Vol. XXI pp. 112 and plate XXVIII.
47. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. IV, Introduction.
48. Ep. Introduction Vol. I p. 222.
49. *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 161.
50. *Majmua-i-Lataif* (Bayad) British Mus. Cat. of Persian Mss., Supp. No. of 341a. The name may be read as 'Alim as well.
51. Imperial Gazetteer XXIII p. 331.

52. One of the Mss. on which the Tehran ed. is based has the same lacuna p. 403 n. 1.
53. *Studies in Indo-Muslim His.* pp. 161-61.
54. The month of Rajab corresponded with June.
55. سنة ستة و عشرين واربعمائة غرتش سه شنبه بود محرم این سال سنة اثنی و عشرین واربعمائة غرتش سه شنبه بود، ص ۱۳۷ تاریخ سنه ثلاث و عشرین واربعمائة غره محرم روز پنج شنبه بود ص۔ ۲۸۸۔
56. p. 148.
57. It must have followed Ahmad's raid on Benares some times after Rajab 424, and the news of the revolt (probably for the second time) were received in Jumadi II 425, (see Baihaqi pp. 395, 400, 403, 404).
58. pp. 530 and 547 respectively.
59. IX p. 160.
60. Tehran ed. p. 197, Berlin ed. p. 97.
61. Baihaqi has اریارق , see pp. 83, 149, 163, 220-24, 226-232 etc.
62. pp. 267, 400
63. p..270
64. This is stated by Ibnul-Athir, IX, pp. 160, 162.
65. In Ibnul Athir it is نفسی which is a mistranscription IX, 161.
66. Baihaqi pp. 404-409.
67. *Ibid* p. 409.
68. *Ibid* p. 423.
69. This place is written in Alberuni's India as Mandahukur (I, 206) the capital of Lauhawur, east of the river Irawa (Ravi), and Mandakkaor at 31° 50'. (I, 317). Abul-Fadl (Aiņ. Tr. 11.110) mentions a Mankokaor revenue division of the Suba of Lahore and places it in juxtaposition with Sialkot, which is 63 miles N.E. of Lahore. But if this Mandakkakur was a citadel of Lahore itself it could not be identical with or even in close proximity to Sialkot (see: Hodivala p. 53.).
70. p. 423.
71. At this stage in Eliot and Dowson (p. 130) the rendering is very defective for example:

    The heart of that vile rebel was quaking with him, and that there was a space of only two Kos between the two armies. Obviously the word گــروه has been read as کروه though the Cal. ed. too has گروه . The meaning is that the army was divided into two factions (because of conflict of views).

    This has been rendered quite inconnectly: "and at the same time appropriate to the person addressed. This was concealed from his confidential Diwan. The correct rendering wouldbe: "During this period, in our Chancery Tilak was addressed as al-Mu'tamad, (the most trustworthy).
72. p. 433.
73. Jat is a fighting race and mostly resides in western U.P., Haryana and Punjab. The marginal notes in the Tarikh-i-Baihaqi, Teh. 1324, p. 434 that most of the Jats are Muslim converts, are incorrect. Similarly Suhaili Khwansari's view that Jats are nomads has no relevance. The alternative of جتان و جتان, is also redundant (*Adabul-Harb* p. 254 n).
74. p. 434.
75. p. 494

76. p. 497.
77. *Zainul-Akhbar* p. 200.
78. IX p. 164.
79. pp. 160, 162
80. Gardezi: بانتهو بن محمد ; Tabaqat 1, p. 23: بانتهو بن محمد علی Frishtal, p. 42 has نانتهو and I have adopted it. Badoni (I p. 22) has referred to one General named ناهر .
81. p. 200.
82. p. 406. Baihaqi has given a detailed and useful account of him pp. 406-407.
83. Tabaqat 1, p. 23.
84. Firishta 1, p. 42.
85. Eliot and Down. p. 60.
86. *Ibid.*
87. *Studies in Indo-Muslim* His. p. 163.
88. IX p. 164.
89. Bhatiya to which Sultan Mahmud had led an expedition in 395 A.H. has been variously identified with Bhera, Uchch, Bhatner and even Bhatinda and Bhawalpur. But according to M Nazim Bhatinda and according to Hodivala Bhera is the correct identification *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, pp. 197-223, *Studies in Indo-Muslim Histry*, pp 138.
90. Biblio. Indica ed. (p. 660 L.9) has به دیگر روز which is incorrect' سدیگر روز as appearing in the Tehran codex p. 530 is quite correct.
91. In Elliot & Dowson p. 134. پس از حادثه has been left out.
92. *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi* p. 507.
93. p. 530. باز گردیم چنانچه پیش از نوروز به غزنی باز رسیم The Id-i-Azha fell on 24th Sept. 1037. So there were about 5 months at his disposal.
94. Then follows a sentence: شدن به آمل و آمدن، این بلا بار آورد و این رفتن به هندوستان سر بتر از آنست۔ This has been rendered in English thus:

    These evils have occurred, for they are already at Amul, and still it is considered expedient to go to Hindustan whereas it should be rendered thus:

    These evils occurred for coming and going to Amul & the Indian expedition is still worse than that.
95. p. 531.
96. In Eliot and Dowson بگاه بر نشست has been translated as: rose early which is incorrect for برنشستن means to ride and not to rise.
97. On Saturday 17th Zil Hijja the minister was granted a rob of honour. But in the Persian text Tehran ed. 1324 it is سه شنبه which is wrong. Both Prof Nafiseiy ed. 648 & Calcutta ed. p. 663 have the correct reading شنبه.
98. بو سعید مشرف را به مهمی نزدیك جکی هند و فرستاد بقلقش و کس بران واقف نگشت۔ p. 533 has been incorrectly translated in Eliot & Dowson p. 140 as: Bu Sa'id Mushrif was sent on an expedition against Chakki Hindu, to a fort about which no one knew anything. Obviously the antecedent of the pronoun which would be 'fort' but in the Persian text signifies that it relates to the message itself. Jakki or Janki owed alligiance, so the question of sending of expedition against him does not arise. In the said history note 1 the reference is to the power Chak tribe in Kashmir but it is incorrect.

99. The month of Safar of the year 429 was of 29 days otherwise 9th Rabiul-Awwal would not be Wednesday as stated in the text p. 533; similarly Rabiul Awwal of 429 was perhaps of 29 days, for the capture of the fort took place on Saturday when ten days were left in the month of Rabiul Awwal. When 9th Rabi I was Wednesday only then 19th Rabi I would be Saturday. But we again are faced with a difficult point. On p. 537 L 5 the date of return is found in this: روز شنبه چهار روز مانده بود ازین ماه . In case the month was of 29 days, then the date of return would be 25th and this date was Friday and not Saturday. Anyhow there is confusion here in the text in respect of dates and da[illegible]s.
100. p. 547.
101. XIII, p. 25. The date of the conquest is 1036 A.D. But the fort was conquered on 30th Dec. 1037 (the Islamic date being 19th Rabi I, 429.).
102. Imperial Gazetteer XIII p. 25.
103. III p. 1462.
104. I p. 44. درسنه خمس و ثلاثین و اربعمائة رای دهلی و دیگر راجه ها اتفاق کرده بلدهٔ هانسی و تهانیسر را باسایر مضافات از تصرف گماشتگان غزنویه بر آورده متوجه نگر کوت شدند.

This is not confirmed by any other history. Ibnul Athir (IX p. 193) has narrated a different event:

'In the year 435 three Indian King entered into an alliance and attacked Lahore and besieged the fort. The general of the Muslim army collected his force and sent a message to Sultan Maudud who speedily despatch an army for his help. In the mean time one of the Rajas broke the alliance and accepted Masud's obedience. The other two retired to their dominions. The Muslim army attacked one of them called Dubal Haryana and defeated him, who subsequently took shelter in his strong fortress along with his army consisting of five thousand horsemen and seventy thousand infantry. The Muslim army besieged the fort and compelled the Raja to surrender. In this way the invading army got freed five thousand Muslims who were imprisoned in the fort.

Thereafter the Muslim army marched against the other ally called ثابت الری who defended gallantly but was defeated. The Muslims captured arms and ammunition and cattle in huge quantity. Then the other defactory Rajas also surrended.

105. See Kalhana II p. 411.
106. Sachan, I pp. 206, 259, 260; II p. 181.
107. In the Ist three places it is Biyatta but on p. 181 it is Vistasta, though in the Arabic text there too it is بيت Hyderabad ed. p. 489.
108. Sachau I p. 207.
109. Kalhana II p. 363.
110. Sachau I p. 207.
111. *Studies in Indo-Muslim His.* p. 165.
112. pp. 65, 83, 149.
113. p. 196.
114. p. 178.
115. p. 305. But the other reading is
116. This had served asa prison for during the reign of Mahmud of Ghazna.

According to *Mujamal* of Fasihi (p. 103) Mahmud had imprisoned his brother Ismail in this very fort; again Israil Seljug was put into confinement under Mahmud's order in 419 in this fort (Ibid p. 142) and Seljug prince died in his captivity in 426 during the reign of Masud (p. 56). But Fasihi's assigning the fort a different name Tilwara remains to be confirmed by any other authority. Fasihi is again incorrect to call Israil the grandson of Seljug whereas he was the son of the latter (see *Zainul-Akhbar* p. 189). For Israil's imprisonment in Kalinjar also refer to Ibnul Athir IX, pp. 261, 323, Rawandi pp. 88-9, Guzida p. 435 etc.

117. *M. Nazim: Sultan mahmud of Ghazna* p. 106.
118. *Tarikh-i-Yamini* p. 305.
119. *Sultan mahmud of Ghazna* p. 106 n. 5.
120. *Studies in Indo-Muslim His.* p. 145.
121. Kalhana II p. 433.
122. Kalhana VII L 1256 n.
123. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna pp. 41 n, 63 n, 64, 106 n, 136.
124. Kalana, VII L 1256 n.
125. Tehran ed. 1324 p. 65 n. 2:
126. p. 196 n. 5. بس می توان گفت که جنگی نام هندو محافظ آن قلعه بود یا شاید مراد جهنگ باشد که بر کنار راست رود جهیلم واقع است۔

    When Baihaqi calls him خداوند قلعه this alternative is quite redundant. According to Hodivala Janki was perhaps a cadet of the ruling family of Lohar and not the Raja him (*Studies in Indo-Muslim Histo. p.* 145); But Dr. Nazim calls him the ruler of Kalinjar (*Sultan Mahmud* p. 106 n). He was Mahmud's guide when the latter led an expedition to the Duab and crossed the river Jumna on te 20th Rajab 409 (*Ibid*).
127. p. 201. n. 1.
128. Persian text p. 535, Elliot and Dowson II p. 141-2.
129. p. 200
130. Ibnul-Athir, IX, p. 193, mentions a Raja named دوبال هریانه with whom Maudud b. Masud fought in 435 A.H. and defeated. The two night identical.
131. It has been suggested that it might be identical with Rampur in U.P. p. 201 n. 3). But it has no basis at all.
132. I p. 42.
133. I p. 22.
134. Tabaqat I p. 23.
135. p. 531
136. p. 532.
137. p. 201.
138. p. 501.
139. pp. 660-61.
140. Walhind is 15 miles above Atak on the left bank of Indus with its modern name as Hind. Raverty has confounded with Bhatinda (Hodivala: pp. 141-42).
141. It may be identified within the neighbourhood of Peshawar as mentioned by Alberuni, Sachau I, 259 or with Pratah Manara in the same neighbourhood. (Hodivala p. 169).

142. Modern Peshawar
143. It is perhapsor Kapurgiri 40 miles north of Peshawar (Hodiwala, pp. 160, 169, 194).
144. The words are:
145. *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, p. 690.

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THE OLDEST PERSIAN TRANSLATION OF THE 'AWARIFUL-MA'ARIF

The *'Awarifu'l-Ma'rif*, a well-known and highly esteemed treatise on sufi doctrine in Arabic written by the eminent sufi saint and writer Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Abu Hafs 'Umar b. Muhammad b. 'Abdu'llah al-Bkri as-Suhrawardi (d. 632), has been commentated on and translated into Persian, Turkey and Urdu etc. by eminent Turkish and Indian scholars. As it has been a popular course book, scholars had started to get it translated and commented within a very short time after its composition. The Suhrawardi order was very popular in India, so the Indian scholars thought it worth while to render it into Persian to enable it to reach the average reader. And it is significant to note that the earliest available Persian translation of the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* was effected in India at Multan during the life time of the reputed sufi saint Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Zakariya of Multan (d. 656) by one Qasim Da'ud Khatib. Two valuable Mss. of this translation are known to exist: one is preserved in the Asafiya (State) Library at Hyderabad which was very briefly mentioned by Mr. Sakhawat Mirza through a communication published in the *Fikr-o-Nazar* July 1963, supplemented by the writer in the same issue of the said journal. The other is a very valuable Ms. lodged in the private collection of Mr. Maikash Akbarabadi at Agra who kindly allowed me to utilise it in this article. The Ms. has been transfered to the M. A.Llibrary, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

It is stated by the translator that the reigning monarch Taju'd-Din Abu-Bakr son of Malik-i-Kabir 'Izzu'd-Din Abu'l Haris Mankubirni proposed that the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* which abounded in references and explanations of the traditions of the Prophet and sayings of saints etc. be rendered from Arabic, the most eloquent of the languages, into Persian, the sweetest of the tongues, for the main object of a composition is that it should be read by many people and its contents be put into practice. And since most of the people of the age were not fully conversant with Arabic, they could not be benefitted by a work in that language. So the translator had no alternative save to undertake the assignment and

therefore he set his mind on rendering the *'Awarif* from Arabic into Persian.

Qasim Da'ud further states that he was prompted to take the work in hand when he got the permission and blessings of the Shaikhu'l Islam Abu Muhammad Zakariya. He started the work seriously and sincerely and proposed to translate the book in a simple and straight-forward style so that the scope of its utilisation be widened. His words are:

امـا بعد بیچارهٔ گناهکار و امیدوار بکرم خداوند کریم و بفضل عمیم قاسم داؤد خـطیب قصبهٔ جبرتاب الله علیه و خص من خصایص مالدیه مع اسلافیه و والدیه می گـوید کـه پادشاه اعـظـم ملك معظم خسرو گیهان حیدر نشان مجیر الانام ظهیر الایام تـاج الـحق والدّین مخصوص بعنایته رب العالمین قسیم امیر المومنین ابوبکر اعـلی قـدره و امـرهٔ سـلالـهٔ طیـنـت و خلاصهٔ جوهر سکینت ملك کبیر عالم عادل اعـظـم مـعـظـم عـزالـدنیا و الـدّین غیاث الاسلام والمسلمین صفدر ایران و توران ابوالـحارث سـنـکـبرنی ایاز کـبیر خـانـی حسام امیرالمومنین انارالله برهانه و ثقل بحسنـات میـزانـهٔ فرمـود تـا ایـن عـاجـز ز دست خود کتاب عوارف المعارف که مشحونست بفـنـون لـطایف و وظایف از اخبار و آثار و اشارات و عبارات تصنیف شیخ الـمشـایـخ شـهـاب الـملة والدّین سلطان العارفین ملك النساك والعباد قطب الـزهـاد والاوتاد العالم الربانی العارف الحقانی ابو حفص عمرالسهروردی طیب الله ثراه و بلغه الی اقصی مناه' بود آنرا ترجمه پارسی سازد و از عربیت که افصح اللغات اسـت بـدیـن زبـان که املح عباراتست بپردازد زیراك مقصود و مطلوب از تالیف و تصنیف اندر کلام آنست که معلوم و مفهوم جهانیان گردد تا مگر کسی آنرا بکار بندد و بدان سبب بعز جاویدی پیوندد۔

و پوشیده نیـسـت کـه اندرین زمـان کـه بیشتر مردمان از وظایف و لطایف تازی حـظـی کـامـل و لـطـیـفـی شـامـل ندارند بدین سبب اشارت و عبارت این قوم بازی پندارند۔

پس بحکم فرمان لایزال و لازال هکذا این شکسته امتثال نمود و بهیچ سبیل از امـر او نقصان نبود و با خود گفتم که خویشتن را از جرأت بزبان طایفهٔ انداختم چون ترجمهٔ این کتاب بدین زبان که عزیزالوجود است و الفاظ او معدود' پرداختم۔

پس چون رغبت ...... اندرین معنی صادق دانستم، خود را اندر اقدام آن بکلی مشـغـول داشتم خاصّه چون تائید به اشارت شیخ الاسلام بهاء الملة والدین الهادی الی حضرة رب العالمین داعی العباد قطب العباد ابو محمد زکریا متع الله المسلمین بطول بقایه و نضّر وجهی بنور لقایه که متضمن اجازت بود' یافتم و این ضعیف اندران بصـدق و اخـلاص بـانـدازهٔ امـکـان و طـاقـت بـا مجاهدت ایستاد و هر روز بعد از استخارت بر بحر معانی این ترجمه درر بحر معانی آن تألیف می نهاد' لیکن از عبارت

خود را دور می داشتم و این نوع بهتر می بنداشتم تا مردمان از فایدهٔ اشارات اهل صدق محروم نمانند و از نقش عبارات اهل شوق خود را مرتفع دارند۔

و با چندین خستگی و شکستگی امید بفضل خداوند عدل تعالی و تقدس واثق است وهمتی صادق که اگر بصدق و اخلاص و نیاز و سوز کسی از مطالعت این کتاب بهره گیرد و معاملت این قوم چنانك اندرین ابواب جمع شده است بکار بندد صاحب احوال و مقامات گردد و اندر جمیع احوال نور وصال وی را روی دهد بجز آنك حظ وافر بروز محشر کرامت او شود و رضوان اکبر نصیب او گردد الخ۔

The translator has referred to two important personalities in the above statement. One is the ruling monarch and the other is the Shaikhu'l-Islam Bahau'd-Din Zakariya. The latter is certainly identical with the great saint of Multan due to the following reasons:

(1) Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Zakariya was a disciple of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi and had been with him[1] for some time. He should have been interested in the propagation of the sufi doctrines propounded by Shaikh Suhrawardi as incorporated in the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* through the latter's Persian rendering which was certainly to extend the scope of its utilisation.

(2) As we shall see later, the translator was contemporary with Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Zakariya and was the khatib of a town perhaps in that region spelt variantly as سهبرد چبر and چر .

Regarding the reigning monarch, whose great interest in the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* is evidnet from the translator's observation, we have to look deep into the matter. He has been mentioned as:

پادشاه اعظم، ملك معظم خسرو گیهان حیدر نشان مجیر الانام ظهیر الایام تاج الحق والدین قسیم امیر المؤمنین ابوبکر الخ۔

And his father has been mentioned by these titles:

ملك کبیر عالم عادل اعظم معظم عزالدنیا والدین غیاث الاسلام والمسلمین صفدر ایران و توران ابوالحارث منکبرنی ایاز کبیر خانی حسام امیرالمؤمنین انارالله برهانه۔

But the monarch and his father are those mentioned by Qazi Minhaj-i-Siraj Jauzjani in the 22nd Tabaqa (Chapter) dealing with the Muluk-i-Shamsi, of his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. He makes the following statement:[2]

Malik 'Izzu'd-Din Kabir Khan Ayaz Hazar Mardah al-Mu'izzi.[3]

Malik Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz was a Rumi Turk, and he had been

the slave of Malik Nasiru'd-Din Hussain, the Amir-i-Shikar of Ghaznin, and after he was put to death, Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz, along with his children, reached the country of Hindustan. He attracted the benevolent notice of the august Sultan (Iltutmish), and served him in every degree of employment. He was a Turk, wise, prudent and experienced, and in agility and martial accomplishments was the incomparable of his time. Malik Nasiru'd-Din-Husain, the Amir-i-Shikar of Ghaznin, who was his owner and lord, was the theme of every tongue throughout the whole of the countries of Ghur, Ghaznin, Khurasan, and Khwarazm, for warlike powers and skill; and Malik Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz had accompanied his master, in all circumstances and situations, and had learnt from him martial accomplishments and the modes of warfare, and had become a perfect master in the art.

When Malik Nasiru'd-Din Husain was put to death by the Truks of Ghaznin,[4] his sons, namely Sher Khan-i-Surkh, and his brother reached the presence of the sublime court, and Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish purchased 'Izzu'd-Din Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz, direct from them. Some have related on this wise, that, when the august Sultan brought the territory of Multan under his sway in the year 625 A.H. he conferred upon 'Izzu'd-Din, Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz the city and fortress of Multan, with the whole of its towns, districts and dependencies, and installed him in the government of that territory, and exalted him to the title of Kabir Khan-i-Mangirni,[5] and although he used to be styled by people Ayaz-i-Hazar Mardah-the name he was famed by-he, consequently, became celebrated under the title of Kabir Khan-i-Mangirni. On the return of the Sultan to Delhi, the capital, Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz took possession of the territory and brought it under his jurisdiction, and caused it to flourish: and after a period of two, three or four years, he was recalled to the capital and Palwal was assigned to him for his maintenance.[6]

When the Shamsi reign came to its termination, and Sultan Ruknu'd-Din Firuzshah succeeded, he conferred upon Kabir Khan the district of Sunam. When Malik 'Ala'u'-Din Jani from Lahore and Malik Saifu'd-Din Kuji from Hansi assembled with hostile intent against the court, Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz joined them ; and for a considerable period they alarmed and distracted the forces of

Sultan Ruknu'd-Din Firuzshah. At last when Sultan Raziya ascended the throne, they advanced upon the capital and for a considerable period molested the city and parts around and engaged in conflict with servants of the court of Sultan of Islam, until Sultan Raziya secretly, by promises of favour detached him from that party and he in concert with Malik 'Izzu'd-Din Muhammad-i-Salari went over to the service of the court. Through their coming over to the court party, the Sultan, the servants of her Court and the people of the city, gained a great accession of strength, and Malik Jani and Malik Kuji baffled, withdrew.

Sultan Raziya showed Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz great honour and conferred upon him the province of Lohor, with the whole of the dependencies and districts belonging to that territory; but after a year or two, a slight change manifested itself in the mind of Sultan Raziya towards him, and in the year 636 A.H., her sublime standard advanced towards Lohor. Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz retired before her, crossed the Rawah of Lohor, and retreated as far as the borders of Sudharah, and the army marched in pursuit of him. Finding that it was impossible to follow any other course, he made his submission, and Multan was again placed under his charge.[7] After a considerable period had passed away, and when an army of Mughals, under the accursed Mangutah, the Nu-in, and the Bahadur, Ta-ir, turned its face towards Lohor, Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz (assumed sovereignty) in the territory of Sind,[8] and a canopy of state,[9] and possessed himself of Uchcha. Shortly after this disaffection in the year 639 A.H., he died.

After his decease, his son Taju'd-Din, Abu-Bakr-i-Ayaz, who was a young man of good disposition, fiery, very impetuous, and courageous, brought the territory of Sind under his sway. Several times he attacked the Karengh army before the gate of Multan and put it to flight,[10] and showed such great skill and high spiritedness that he was noted for his manliness and valour, when suddenly in the morning of life and flower of his youth he passed to the Almighty's mercy. May God have mercy upon them both !

Although the date of Taju'd-Din Abu-Bakr's death is not mentioned, it may be inferred from some events that he had died sometime before 643 A.H.[11] Thus the period of Taju'd-Din's rule would be placed from 639 to 643 A.H. Upon his death his territory

comes under the direct control of the Delhi Sultanat and Malik Saifu'd-Din is appointed the ruler of Uchcha.[12]

From the above details the following conclusions are made:

(1) 'Izzu'd-Din Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz and his son Taju'd-Din Abu-Bakr are certainly the same personalities as mentioned by Qasim Da'ud in his Persian version of the *'Awarif*. The following points may be cited in support of this proposition:

(a) The necessary parts of the name of the father of Taju'd-Din such as Kabir, 'Izzu'd-Din, Ayaz, Kabir Khan-i[13] and Mankbirni are identically found in both the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* as well as in the Persian version of the *'Awarif*.

(b) In the *Tabaqat* his great valour and skill in warfare has been extolled and perhaps it is due to this virtue that he has been called in the Persian translation as Safdar-i-Iran wa Turan, Abu'l Haris and Husam-i-Amiru'l-Mu'minin.

(c) According to the *Tabaqat* the said Malik Ayaz was the governor and subsequently for a short time an independent ruler of Multan and Uchcha, and thus contemporary with Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariya. This fact is also confirmed by the Persian translation.

(d) According to the *Tabaqat*, Taju'd-Din Abu-Bakr was the son of the afore-mentioned Malik Ayaz, who subsequently conquered Sind and extended his territory. He was also contemporary with Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariya.

(e) According to Qazi Minhaj both the father and the son had thrown off allegiance to the rulers of Delhi, but Qasim Da'ud Khatib, though calling the son as an independent sovereign wielding great authority, is silent about Malik 'Izzu'd-Din Ayaz's independent suzerainty though perhaps for a very short period.

Taju'd-Din Abu-Bakr seems to be a patron of poets and scholars. We have already seen that the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* was translated into Persian through his efforts. Another poet 'Amid Loiki Sanami's two poems in praise of this prince have recently been discovered[14] which were subsequently edited and included by Dr. Mrs. Maria-Bilquis in her thesis entitled *Scattered Persian verses in India till 1290 A.D.*[15] In one of them his full name i.e. Taju'd- Din Abu-Bakr b. Ayaz is given while in the other Taju'd-Din Abu- Bakr (without his father's name) is mentioned. As 'Amid was contem-

porary with Taju'd-Din Abu-Bakr there is absolutely no doubt about the identity of this patron who was none but the ruler of Sind, Multan and Uchcha noticed by Minhaj-i-Siraj in the *Tabaqat -i-Nasiri*.[16] Thus 'Amid's poems may be regarded as the third source about this ruler who has been ignored by the historians. Since these poems, throwing light on a very significant fact of Indian history are still not easily accessible, I take the privilege of quoting some lines from both of them.[17] The first *qasida* is in the form of a "strife poem" indicating the contest between hemp and wine. These are some of the lines quoted from the same:

دی درمیان بادهٔ صافی مزاج و بنگ
در مصعد دماغ من افتاد شور و جنگ
بگشاد می زبان که منم دختر عنب
صافی تن و نشاط فزای و عقیق رنگ
تا من سر از دریچهٔ خم بر نمی کنم
نایست سر گرفته و خشک است رود و چنگ
گر در دهان رنگ ز من قطره ای چکد
بر روی شرزه رنگ تفاوت کند ز رنگ
در موشکی ضعیف ز من جرعه ای چشد
نشگفت اگر ز پنجه خراشد رخ پلنگ
خاصیت من این و تو ای بنگ خشک مغز
ذکر خواص خویش بمن گوی بیدرنگ
بنگ سبک سر از سر وحشت زبان گشاد
کای نزد فکرت تو یکی شکر و شرنگ
من صوفیم ز خانقه کیمیای عقل
بر دامنم زنند حکیمان بطبع چنگ
از تو یکی پیاله و صد محنت خمار
از من طلب علاج دل ناتوان تنگ
می گفت منکر آنکه تو منصوص نیستی
نام تو بر صحیفه نیامد ز بهر ننگ
من لعل با طراوت و تو سبز بی نمک
نامم شراب صافی و نام تو خشک بنگ
بنگش بخنده گفت چه لافیم یکدگر
در دار ضرب شرع نداریم هر دو سنگ
می گفت این بساط مقالست بگستریم

در مجلس سپه کشی مشهور روم و زنگ
فرزانه تاج دولت بوبکر بن ایاز
آنکو دو قلب بر درد از زخم یك خدنگ
ای پهلوی که زیر طناب سرادقت
گردون همی خمیده رود بر مثال گنگ
از گرز تست زلزله اندر بلاد روم
وز تیغ تست صاعقه در عرصهٔ فرنگ
در وصف لعل و سبز بمدحت عمید کرد
رخسار حاسد تو همه زرد چون زرنگ
نقلت همیشه باد همه سیب رامگی
بادا غذای خصم تو نقل خزان منگ

Some lines from the second *qasida* in praise of the said Sultan which is quoted in the *'Arafat-i-Ashiqin* (44 lines), *Majma'u'l Fusaha* (16 lines), Persian Journal *Armughan* V. 21 pp. 504-06 (30 lines), are quoted below:

دارم جفای نو بنو زین چرخ ناخوش منظری
کوری کبودی کجروی عاقل کشی دون پروری
بر چرخ کین هفت اختر است هر هفت ناکس پرور است
هر روز نوعی دیگر است بر جان من هر اختری
رخت امیدم برده شد جانم زرنج آزرده شد
شاخ طرب پژمرده شد بی آب چون نیلوفری
بودم درین تیمار، و غم پروردهٔ رنج و ستم
کز در در آمد صبحدم شمشاد قد مه پیکری
باروی مانند گلی با لعل همرنگ ملی
با طرهٔ چون سنبلی با قامتی چون عرعری
نسرین برو کوچك دهن شکر لب و شیرین سخن
در بر ز طنزش پیرهن در سر ز نازش معجری
بنشست پیشم یکزمان بگشاد پس شیرین زبان
گفت ای بفضل اندر جهان نازاده مثلت مادری
بر خیز کن عزم سفر زین جای ناخوش در گذر
کاندر دکان شیشه گر قیمت ندارد گوهری
الحق بذیرفتم بجان پند نگار داستان
آوردم اندر زیر ران صرصر تگی که پیکری

از فرق تا دم گاو دم باریك ساق و سخت سم
هر گز نکردی راه گم در تیره شب چون رهبری
شاخش چو ماه یك شبه چشمش سیه تر از شبه
نامش چو ذکر شتربه مشهور در هر کشوری
اندر چنین سرمای دی کز وی ببندد خون و پی
می آوریدم زیر پی هر سنگلاخ و کردری
می کردم از غم نالشی می خوردم از وی مالشی
از خشت بودم بالشی و ز خاك تیره بستری
گفتم که هان ای گرم رو صحرا نورد تیز دو
در تگ بسی کرده گرو از بختی هامون دری
یکره ز غم و اخر مرا این ره بپایان بر مرا
کهتر فرود آور مرا در بارگاه مهتری
فرزانه تاج دین حق جودش بدهر اندر خلق
مدحش نگار هر ورق در منزلت سر دفتری
بوبکر پیغمبر لقا فاروق دل عثمان حیا
آنکو چو حیدر در وغا تنها بدرّد لشکری
ذاتش درختی از وفا در غایت نشو و نما
شاخش همه جود و سخا وز لطف و انعامش بری
گردون توسن رام او دور فلك بر گام او
آوازهٔ اکرام او هست از ثریا تا ثری
در دهر عطّار سحر یعنی صبای خوش خبر
از خلق او خوش طیب تر نا دیده مشك و عنبری
ای پای مردی سروران سلجوق چاکر پروران
همچون میان دلبری هستم کمینه لاغری
دارد امید این چاکرت از لطف مادح پرورت
کاینسان نیاید از درت نومید سوی دیگری
بس دیدم از گردون ستم برداشتم سویت قدم
الحق دود با درد و غم مظلوم سوی داوری
بادات در جتر و ظفر فرخنده و میمون صفر
همواره در عزم سفر اقبال بادت رهبری

Now it is proper to add some thing about the translator and his Persian rendering itself. Nothing is known about the personality of Qasim Da'ud commonly known as *khatib* who was a scholar and poet with sufistic disposition. He seems to be an adept

in Islamic learning specially in thelogical sciences and sufism. The whole of the present translation coupled with occasional explanation and elucidations of the sufistic problems therein may be cited as proofs of his mature scholarship. He was gifted with poetic talent which would be proved by his own metrical translation of the Arabic verses quoted in the text of the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif*. But it may be frankly admitted that his verses do not rank high and even some of the independent verses added here and there do not support his claim to be a poet of a high order. Some examples are quoted below:

The following *qit'as* have been added by Qasim in his translation.

و اندر حسب حال این بیچاره در تضمین مقال شیوخ می گوید (ورق ۲۴ـ ۱):

آن ملکی که فضل او منعم هر نفر شده
واز جهت رضاء او خون همه هدر شده

محنت و رنج راه او در دل ماست چون عسل
هر چه رسد ز عدل او بر لب ما شکر شده

کی بشود دو چشم پر درد از لقای او
دوست ز دوست مغتنم این غم ما بسر شده

واز دل و از دو دیده ام رفع شده حجابها
باز وصال یافته کار همه دگر شده

این بیچاره ضعیف خطیب اندر حسب حال گوید (ورق ۲۵۵ـ ۱):

از برون آراسته آن دین فروش را نگر
وز درون تاریك گشته شیطنت را راهبر

حرفتش شطرنج و نرد و انج منکر از سماع
مردمان را می دهد لقمه همین دارد هنر

وقت خوردن خرس گردد وقت طاعت ناتوان
دین ازو بیزار گشته او ندارد زان خبر

دیو را سخره شده اندر معاصی آن که بود
زهر در طاعت خدا کان هست جون شهد و شکر

The metrical translations are quoted below which would reveal that these translations are neither faithful nor of such a high order as to warrant Qasim Da'ud Khatib a good position as a poet of Persian:

قوم[18] هموهم بالله قد علقت
فمالهم همم تسمو الی أحد
فمطلب القوم مولاهم و سيّدهم
بأحسن مطلبهم الواحد الصمد
ما ان تنازعهم دنيا و لا شرف
من المطاعم و اللذّات و الولد
و لا للبس ثياب فائق أنق
و لا لروح سرور حلّ فی بلد
الا مسارعة فی أثر منزلة
قد قارب الخطو فيما باعدالأبد
فهم رهائن غدران دأودية
و فی الشوامخ تلقاهم مح العدد
صبرتُ [19] علی بعض الأذی خوف كلّه
و دافعتُ عن نفسی لنفسی فعزّتِ
وجرّعتها المكروه حتی تدرهت
و لونم أجرعها اذا لأشمازتِ
الا ربّ ذلّ ساق للنفس عزّة
و يا ربّ نفس با لتذلّل عزّتِ
اذا ما مددت الكفّ التمس الغنی
الی غير من قال أسئالونی مثلّتِ
سأصبر جهدی أنّ فی الصبر عزة
و أرضی بدنيای و إن هی قلّتِ
قالوا[20] غد العيد ماذا أنت لابسه
فقلت خلعة ساق عبده الجرعا
فقر و صبر هما ثوبان تحتهما
قلب يری ربّه الأعياد و الجمعا
أحری المالبس ان تلقی الجيب به
يوم التزاور فی الثوب الذی خلعا
الدهر لی مأتم إن غبت يا أملی
و العيد ما دمت لی مرأی و مستمعا
أنامر اهوی [21] و من أهوی أنا
نحن روحان حللنا بدنا
فاذا أبصرتنی أبصرته
واذا أبصرته أبصرتنا

کـانـت [22] لـقـلـبـی أهوا و مفـرّقة
فـاستجمعت ادر أنك الـنفس أهوائی
فـصـار يـحسدنی من كـنت أحسده
و صرتُ مولی الوری مذ صرت مولائی
تـر كـت لـلـنـاس دنيا هم و دينهم
شـغـلا بـذكـرك يـا دينی و دنيائی
طـفح السّرور [23] عـلـی حتـی أننی
مـن عـظـم مـا قد سرّنـی أبكـانـی

پیچارهٔ ضعیف خطیب سهبر اندر ترجمهٔ این اشعار عربیت می گوید (۱۳۶ ـ ب)

قومی کـه همت شـان اندر لقای اوست
جان عود و دل چو مجمر و آذر بلای اوست
مطلوب در دو عـالـم مولی است این گروه
زان آرزوی هـر یك در دل هـوای اوسـت
نـی بندهٔ شـکـم شده نـی چـاکـر هوا
دنیا بلا به مانده کـه آخر چه جای اوست
شـاهـان ژنده پوش نخواهند بـاختیـار
اطلـس ز بهر خود که نداده رضاف اوست
از آتـش شتـائـی و از غـم گـداختند
کـاندر فنای نفس حقیقت بقای اوست
بـر جـویبـار و رود و در کـوه مـی طلب
بنده بدین صفت که در آنجا لقای اوست

ترجمه این دردمند گفته است (۳۰۰ ب)

زهی صبری کی بر بعضی ز خوف کل همی کردم
ز رنجی کـان بنفس خود ز خود پیوسته می رانم
قدح کـز رنج بـود آنرا بخوردم تـا بیـارامد
خـرد واپس اگـر او را ز خوردن دور مـی شـانم؟
بسی عزت ز نـاکـس کـان بیارد نفس را خواری
بسی خواری ز نـا اهلان که زان عزت همی دانم
کشم گر دست خود جز آنك او بر خود مرا خواند
شود خشك آن همان دستم ازانك آن هست شیطانم

شکیبائی کنم من زانك اندر صبر عز دانم
زاندك كار از دنيا شوم راضی چه درمانم

این گناهکار گفته است (۳۰۱ ب)

عید است ترا فردا گفتند چه می پوشی
گفتم زنخی پیرهن و جبهٔ درویشی؟
پس باز دلم دید شهود حق در عید
و ادینه درین جامه با هش نه ز بیهوشی
جامه که شتا باشد هست آنك دران بینی
در روز ملاقات با دلدار خود آگوشی
دهری که مرا ماتم چون دور شوی از من
عید است مرا آن دم چون کاس غمم نوشی

ترجمه خطیب راست (۳۰۹ ب)

من شدم دلدار دلدارم شده بر من چو من
هر دو جا اند دوستی بگرفته جا اندر بدن
تا اگر دیدی مرا می دان که او را دیدهٔ
من شدم او او شدست من نیست فرق اندر (24) دو تن

ترجمهٔ خطیب گوید (۳۱۳-ا)

این دل دیوانه را بودست هواها بی شمار
چون ترا دیدم فراهم گشت جمله اندر کنار
پس شدست حاس هر آنکس کی ازو بر دم حسید
چون(25) تو ام مولی شدی عالم مرا شد بنده وار
دین و دنیا را برای مردمان بگذاشتم
شغل من ذکرت و زین دنیا و دین با تو قرار

ترجمه این بیچاره راست: (۱۲۲-ا)

دریاء شادمانی چون کف زدن گرفت
درراز دو دیده من خون ریختن گرفت
ایضاً ترجمه من هذا الضعیف:
از بسکه شد پدید مسرت بروی من
از خون چشم جوی روان شد بکوی من

Qasim Da'ud calls himself Khatib of a town spelt as چر in the Asafiya Ms. and جر and سهر in the Agra Ms. Mr. Sakhawat Mirza

has attempted to identify it with a certain town جرنداب in Azarbaijan (*Fikr-o-Nazar*, July 63, pp. 101-102); but it is a wrong assumption. As Qasim Da'ud was associated with Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Zakariya, the saint of Multan and Sultan Taju'd-Din, the ruler of Sind and Multan, the identification of the translator's normal residence with a place outside India seems to be incorrect for the simple reason that a translation done with the permission of the saint of Multan and at the instance of the ruler of Sind, Multan and Uchcha, may have been associated with a place in that region and as such previously I ventured to suggest that it was Uchcha. But as in both the Mss. of the translation the place is spelt more than once as جبرو جر and even سبهر, my earlier suggestion may not be correct.

Though the date of the Persian translation is not given in the book, there are some events which might be helpful in this connection. In the translation itself such words as انار الله برهانه (May God illumine his arguments) would certainly refer to Sultan Taju'd-Din's father viz. Malik 'Izzu'd-Din's death, and from the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* it is clear that Taju'd-Din had succeeded his father on the latter's death. According to the same authority 'Izzu'd-Din's death took place in 639 A.H. and Sultan Taju'd-Din Abu-Bakr seems to have died before 643 A.H. Thus the date of Qasim Da'ud's translation may safely be placed between 640 and 642 A.H.

Another important point to be noted is that the work under consideration as stated above is the oldest Persian translation of the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* completed within about ten years of Shaikh Suhrawardi's death. Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Zakariya as a true disciple of Shaikh Suhrawardi wished to get the Arabic original translated into Persian so that the gospel of his teacher may reach the average reader in and outside India. The other earlier Persian translations and commentaries completed by Zahiru'd-Din[26] 'Abdu'r Rahman Buzghush[27] Shirazi (d. 716 A.H.), Shaikh Isma'il[28] b. 'Abdu'l Mu'min b. Abu'l Mansur Isfahani (d. 710 A.H.) and Junaid b. Fazlu'llah b. Zahiru'd-Din[29] (d.791) were only subsequent to Qasim Da'ud Khatib's translation. This fact also enhances the value of the present work.

This translation brings to light an important fact of Indian history perhaps intentionally ignored by the court historians.

Sultan Taju'd-Din Abu-Bakr at whose instance the present work was taken up, was an independent ruler governing parts of Sind, Multan and Uchcha. Though his period was very short, it is a significant event of history; but it has not received due recongnition by the only known contemporary historian viz. Minhaj-i-Siraj resulting in his complete eclipse from the narrtions of subsequent writers. Had this ruler not been casually mentioned by Qasim Da'ud Khatib, the translator of the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif,* this fact would have remained hidden for ever.

During this period a number of important Arabic classics were being rendered into Persian in India and the idea underlying all these cases was the same, namely to extent the scope of their utilisation. Some of the translations known to exist are the *Chach Nama,*[30] the translations of the *Ihya' 'Ulum Fid-Din,*[31] the *al-Faraj Ba'd ash-Shaddah*[32] and *Kitab as-Saidana.*[33] The discovery of the present translation of the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* is very useful addition to this small list.

Regarding the present work it may be added that it is a complete translation of the whole book comprising 63 chapters of the original text. Though the translation is faithful, yet the translator has even frequently made attempts to add to the original in respect of the following two points:

(1) He has expanded and elucidated some of the ideas contained in the Arabic original.

(2) He has substantiated and illustrated some of the points by citing Persian verses of his own and other master's compositions.[34]

The following extracts from the Arabic original and Persian translation are quoted below which would show the correct nature of Qasim Da'ud's translation:

ومَن يعشُ عن ذكر الرحمٰن نقيض له شيطاناً فهو له قرين (35) فالقلب عمال لا يفتر و النفس يقظانة لا ترقد فان كان العبد مستمعاً الى اللّه تعالى و إلا فهو مستمع الى الشيطان و النفس۔

فكلّ شيئ سدّ باب الاستماع فمن حركة النفس و فى حر كتها يطرق الشيطان و قد ورد لولا أن الشياطين يحومون على قلوب بنى آدم لنظروا إلى ملكوت السموات وقال الحسين بصائر المبصرين و معارف العارفين و نور العلماء الربانين و طرق السابقين الناجين و الازل و الأبد و ما بينهما من الحدث لمن كان له قلب أو ألقى السمع (36)۔

هر که[37] از ذکر خداوند تعالیٰ و از فرمان او اعراض نماید ما دیو لعین را بر وی مسلط گردانیم، پس بدانك دل کار گزار است کی سستی نپذیرد، نفس بیدار است ن خسپد، و معلوم است که دل دوستست و نفس دشمن و هر وقت کی دوست از جمال دوست بر خوردار گردد سستی برو راه نیابد و دشمن را در کمین چگونه خواب برد، اگر بنده از حضرت خداوند تعالی مستمع باشد بر خوردار ابد گردد و آنرا [کی] همنشین دیو لعین شود و هر چه شنود ازو شنود در مذمت چنین کسی بپارسی گفتند:

ای با هواء نفس و طبیعت شده قرین
و از کبر و از حسد شده با دیو همنشین
ای پایمال هر خس از بهر جمع مال
و ای دستگیر فتنه و آشوب را معین
ای بیخبر ز معرفت و از ذوق معرفت
و ای بی اثر ز چین دل و از نگار چین
در آتش طبیعت خود چون سمندری
و اندر میان علم دل مالك الحزین
خواندن چه سود تا نکشی محنت عمل
دیدن چه سود تا نچشی طعم انگبین

پس هر حجابی و سدی که بر در استماع پیدا گردد از حرکت نفس باشد و شیطان از آن در آید و در خبر چنین وارد شده است کی لولا ان الشیاطین یحومون علی قلوب بنی آدم لنظروا الی ملکوت السموات، اگر نه آنستی که شیطان گرد دل فرزند آدم گشتی هر آینه نظر بصیرت ایشان بر ملکوت آسمان بگذشتی، حسن گفت رحمة الله: بینائی دل بینندگان و شناخت شناسندگان و نور علماء ربانی و راهبهاء اهل سبقت و همیشگی و پایندگی و هر چه میان آن دو چیز حادث شود سر کسی راست کی دل پند پذیر و گوش موعظت گیر گردد۔

Another significant feature of Qasim Da'ud's translation is that he had given metrical translation of the Arabic verses of the original. As stated above most of these translations are from the pen of the translator himself. Perhaps in this respect too the present translation stands matchless.

The language of the present work is idiomatic, simple and straight forward; the translator has not failed to lose signt that its style should noc grow hackneyed and unattractive. A careful reader of the book would at once realise nature of its style and this single fact may reasonably assign it an honourable position in the realm

of important Persian works. Some of the examples quoted earlier would adequately substantiate this point. A few other extracts are quoted below:

قد[38] ذكرنا وجه صحة السماع و مايليق منه بأهل الصدق و حيث كثرت الفتنة بطريقه و زالت العصمة فيه و تصدى للحرص على أقدام قلت أعمالهم و فسدت أحوالهم و أكثر و الاجتماع للسماع و ربما يتخذ الاجتماع طعام تطلب النفوس الاجتماع لذلك لا رغبة لقلوب في السماع كما كان من سير الصادقين فيصير المسماع معلولا تركن اليه النفوس طلبا لا شهوات و استحلاء لمواطن اللهو و الغفلات و يقطع ذلك على المريد طلب المزيد و يكون بطريقه تضييع الاوقات و قلة الحظ من العبادات و تكون الرغبة في الاجتماع طلبا لتناول الشهوة و استرواحا لاولي الطرب و اللهو و العشرة- و لا يخفى أن هذا الاجتماع مردود عند أهل الصدق و كان يقال لا يصح السماع الا لعارف مكين و لا يباح لمريد مبتدى و قال الجنيد رحمه الله تعالى : اذا رأيت المريد يطلب السماع فاعلم أن فيه بقية البطالة و قيل أن الجنيد ترك السماع فقيل له كنت تستمع فقال مع من قبل له تسمع لنفسك فقال ممن لانهم كانوا لا يسمعون الا من أهل مع أهل فلما فقد الاخوان ترك فما اختاروه السماع حيث انتاروه الا بشروط و قيود و آداب يذكرون به الاخرة و يرغبون في الجنة و يحذرون من النار و يزداد به طلبهم و تحسن به أحوالهم-

بد انك ما[39] وجه صحت سماع ياد كرده بوديم و انچ اهل صدق را لايق باشد، پس چون فتنه اندر طريق گردد و عصمت ازان دور شود قومى بران پيش آيد كى اعمال ايشان اندك باشد و احوال ايشان فساد گرفته بود، بيشتر اجتماع ايشان بر سماع براى طعام باشد كى از بهر ايشان بسازند و نفوس ايشان بر آن ميل دارد نه آن اجتماع كى اندر سماع براى رغبت دلها باشد چنانك سيرت صديقان بوده است- پس چون بر آن سيرت نباشند سماع علتناك شود و نفس بران اندر طلب شهوت ميل يابد و جايگاه لهو و غفلت او را شيرين آيد و طلب مزيد اندر راه طالب مريد را منقطع گردد و او را اندران طريق اوقات ضايع ماند و از عبادات بهرهٔ او كم گردد و رغبت او اندران اجتماع براى تناول شهوات باشد و اندرو از بهر آسايش از طرب و لهو و عشرت بود و پوشيده نيست كه اينچنين جمعيت بنزديك اهل صدق مردود باشد و ازين قبل گفتند كه سماع سازوار نيايد الا مر عارف متمكن را فاما مريد مبتدى را نشايد، وجنيد رحمه الله گفته است كى اگر مريد را بيتى كى طالب سماع گشته است بدانك اندرو هنوز بقيهٔ بطالت هست، و گفتند كى جنيد رحمة الله عليه سماع رها كرده بود، او را گفتند، نه تو سماع را مى شنودى؟ گفت كى با كه؟ گفت با نفس خود، گفت كى از كه؟

تو بد انك ايشان نمى شنيدند الا كى از اهل سماع و با كسانى كى اهليت آن داشتند، و چون آنچنان برادران نماندند ترك آن بگفتند، و اين قوم سماع را اختيار

نکرده است الا بشرط و قید و آداب کی خداوند تعالی را بدان یاد خواهند کرد و بر بهشت بدان رغبت خواهند نمود و از دوزخ با حذر خواهند بود تا طلب ایشان بدان زیادت گردد و احوال ایشان حسن جمال گیرد۔

It would not be out of place to add some thing about the peculiarities of the language of the work under consideration which may be summed up as follows:

I: Qasim Da'ud has used some words in a different sense. For example he used mostly سخون in place of سخن such as:

F. 121a[40] ز دیده کنم ای نگارا سخون خموشیم باشد هوا را سخون

F. 48b سخون اتحاد دارند ; F. 115a هنوز سخون سر بشته نمی گوید ;

F. 119b لکن سخون چینی اندر نهان کند ; F. 154a با او سخون نرم و خوش می گفت

F. 121a سخون گوید ; F. 121a سخون بنظم و نثر الخ .

Another word is[41] سکونت for سکون as: F. 121a سکونت یابد ;

F.133a سکونت و آرام ; F. 36b تصوف همه اضطرابست کی چون سکونت پذیر شود تصوف الخ.

Another word is بیرون used in the sense of علاوه، بجز etc. as:

F. 33a بیرون حق ; 32a بیرون هدایت ; 32b بیرون پادشاه ; 22b بیرون علم ;

133b بیرون ذکر خداوند تعالی ; 136a بیرون این موهبت ; 136b بیرون وقایع ;

117b بیرون محرم .

Another word is بستم meaning 'deliberate بستم meaning deliberately as:

127b یا کسی بود که بستم وجد آرد تا بتواجد خویش

230a و ایشان را بر سلوک طریق اعلی بستم دارد

Another word is محل نظر meaning respectful as:

193a محل نظر خود و مورد وحی کرد .

Another word is پاداش used both in the sense of reward and punishment as:

159b پاداش و جزای خیر امیدش بود

204b هم پاداش ایشان باشد بدانچ کردارهاء شایسته کردند

273b پاداش نیك دهاد

206b گفتم کی از گرفتن انار این پاداش من بود

II: A considerable number of words and phrases so common in Persian classics. An alphabatical list of some of these words is given below:

(وضو) آبدست	185b, 186a	119b	آسایش گرفته
آوند	150a	224a	استقبال نمودن (42)
استوار دارندگان بخداوند	175a	195	استون
انتما	49a	226b	خراشیدگی
اندر باقی	144a, 144b	165b	خرماستان
اندر خواست	128b	117a	خوشی دل
اندر خورد	220b	242a	(عرق) خوی
اندر گذاری	135b	108b, 158b	(قرض) دادنی
(دل) اندرون	49a	126b	دامنی
اهل فهوم	49b	225a	دنبال گردیدن
با حذر	117b, 124a	128b, 129a	(عشره) دهه
بازپسین روز	243a	186b	زکوه(43)
باژ گونه	218a	217b	رنگ برنگ
بر حذر	195a, 233b	115a	رویا روی
بزه مند	149a	143b	رها کردن
بسنده	185a	186b	زفت
بشد آمد	50a	219b	زی و ژنده پوشی
پستی	213a	113a	زی و صورت
پشت دار	126a	218a	زی و هیأت
پیخال	225a	119a, 207a	زنهاری
پیغولهٔ چشم	185a	138a, 139a	ساختگی
تنهایگی	131a, 134a	117b, 138b	سازوار
تندرستی از علتها	242a	299b	سائس و رایض
توشه بمانند	132a	226b	سداد عزیمت
تهاون	48b	50b	سداد و رشاد
تیمار داشت	234a	229, 231b	(وسوسه) سگالش
تیمار کار	124a	49b	سلیم وصحیح
چگونگی	116a	139b	(وزن) سنگ
چراخورها	165b	226a, 227a	سولك
چهارگانی	228b	140b	سه گان
چهله	130a	207b	سیاه وام
حرون	186b	226a	شاد روان
شبا روز	128b, 129a	154a	گدازش
شبانگاه	142b	143b	گونهٔ رنگ
شوخگین	220b	207	لیف خرما
صفو	243a	119a	(تفضیل) مانندتر

طلب مزید	117b	مخ	239b
طبیعت غریزی	159a	(مسجد) مزکت	126a, 195a
طیلسان	220a	مزید علم، مزید آخرت، مزید حق	114a
علت ناك	117b, 121a		
علی القطع	36b, 39b		
غل و حقد	170a, 187b	من یزید	127a
غل و غش	167b, 168a	مهتر خضر	240b
فتنه افتاده	49a	(تمیز) میز	35b
فروهشته	226b, 233b	ناشایست	233b
فریشته	132a, 132b	نایافت	33a
فساد گرفته	117a	نفس غریزی	160a
(ضد اختلاط) کم آمد	134a	نعوت	146a, 147b
کم مرادی	63b	هفتادگان	240a

III: Some technical words are significant. For exampies Qasim Da'ud uses the names of prayers as follows:

Morning prayer	نماز با مداد 231a, 233b, 242a, 256a
	نماز صبح 82a, 243b
Breakfast prayer	نماز چاشت 242a, 242b
Afternoon prayer	نماز پیشین 42a, 242a, 243a
	نماز ظهر 242, 244b
Evening prayer	نماز دیگر 82a, 242a, 243b, 245a
	نماز عصر 243b, 244b
Sun-set prayer	نماز شام 82a,(44) 233b, 242a, 243a
Night prayer	نماز خفتن 82,(45) 225, 228b, 231a, 233b etc.

It may be noted here that in the earlier Persian classics such as تاریخ بیہقی (46) *Chahar Maqala*[47] etc. we come across Persian names of the prayers. It was much later that Arabic names were started to be used. In this connection the present translation in which bilingual names of the prayers are given, may serve very useful purpose.

Some of the grammatical peculiarities of the language which deserve mention are as follows:

(1) Abundant use of the prepositin اندر. All the 63 chapters of the book begin with اندر e.g., اندر منشا و ابتداء کار صوفیه، اندر تخصیص صوفیه، اندر فضیلت علم صوفیه، اندر شرح حال صوفیه، اندر چگونگی تصوف، اندر نام نہادن و لقب دادن این قوم را بدین اسم و لقب۔

A few words and compound prefixed with اندر are quoted from a few pages: اندرین 63b, اندر حسب حال 107b, اندر نهادن 107b, اندر طریق هوا 107b, معنی 136b, اندر قدح 136a, اندر بیداری 135b, اندر پرده 136a, اندر آنجا 137a, اندر دنیا 136a, اندر کار 137a, اندر دل 136a, اندر خواب 136b, اندر واقعه 137a, اندر 139a, اندر وقت 138a, اندر گل 137b, اندر بغداد 137a, اندر آب دجله وسواس 139, اندر میان 140b, اندر نقص 140b.

(2) Some of the infinitives are prefixed by such words as باز، بیرون، در، بر، اندر etc. for examples:

130b. دیو اندر خلوت زیشان اندر آید 13a, شیطان از آن راه در آید

134a, تنهایگی را اندر فراهم آوردن اندیشه اثری تمام است

164b, نان و نمك بیرون آورد 173b, بدین اندر فتنه در افتد

206b, گربه اندر آمد 254a, اندر کار او بحق تعالی باز گردد

231b, تاریخ گوید آنرا اندر دریابد 220b بعیادت او اندر آمدم۔

(3) In some cases the pronoun is unnecessarily repeated such as:

266b. گربه اندر آمد ما کیانی که انجا بود آنرا بگرفت

The sentence should read as:

گربه اندر آمد و ما کیانی را که انجا بود بگرفت

(4) The use of preposition in order to make the language idiomatic:

206b, هیچکس را از حال او معلوم نبود۔

(5) In some cases the objective sign 'را' is dropped such as:

227b, این قوم حضور نا جنس بنزدیك خویش مکروه می دارد

Actually there should be 'را' after 'ناجنس'

گفتند کی جنید رحمة الله علیه سماع رها کرده بود

There should be 'را' after 'سماع'.

210a. روزه دار را نیز لایق نیست کی نصیب خود نگاه دارد و ذخیره کند

There should be 'را' after 'نصیب'.

(6) The translator seems to be particular about forming adjectives of Arabic words according to Arabic rules but in some cases Persian rules have been applied as in following: وصفها 49a, آفتها 124b, عمامها 125b, خطها 298b, 311b etc.

(7) Like many other writers he was particular in using adjectives in agreement with the nouns in accordance with the Arabic rules of grammar as in these cases:

صفات پسندیده ,175a سجایاء صالحه 164a خصایص انسانیه ,118a بقاع شریفه خواطر ذمیمه و ,192a مقدمهٔ صالحه ,188a حضرت قدسیه ,187a و اخلاق مذمومه ,229b اخلاق مذمومه و صفات نکوهیده ,200a عوارض نکوهیده

In the last two instances نکوهید is a Persian word with no gender inherent therein. These have been used only for rhyming purpose but in فرنهاء خاصه (226b) it may be argued that the adjective خاصه in feminine gender is agreeing with فرنها which being plural is feminine. But since it is a Persian word no gender may be applied to it.[48] A similar case نامهٔ مزبوره in the followig sentence is ascribed to the famous Iranian scholar Mirza Muhammad Qazwini (*Bist Maqala-i-Qazwini*, V. 1 p. 51).

اینك نامهٔ مزبوره را بطور ضمیمه در مقابل همین صفحه درج کردیم۔

(8) In this translation one may come across plurals of imanimated things formed by adding 'ان' to the actual words, for examples: انگشتان 185a, گناهان 118a, 124b, 138b, 164a, 233b.

(9) In some cases nouns have been used as adjective, one glaring examples is that of یا ابا عبدالله از دنیا سلامت نباش : سلامت 24a.

In this case سلامت is used as adjective; while in the following sentence on the same folio the word is used as a noun:

چون اینچنین باشی از دنیا سلامت بیائی۔

(10) In most cases the translator has used بعضی' اهل' طایفه in the singular number. For example:

120a بعضی از تابعین نیز گفته است، 122a بعضی اصحاب شیخ گفته است،
122a بعضی صوفیه گفته است، (49) 193a بعضی از طایفه گفته است،
120a طایفهٔ صوفیه از مانند اینچنین اجتناب تعین پذیرد و بر موضوع تهمت پرهیز پذیر شود، 127a اهل بصره بغز و نهاوند رفته بود و اهل کوفه ایشان (50) را مدد کرد، 205b بعضی از طایفه گفته است، 225b بعضی فقرا هدایت کرده است .

(11) The translator was very particular about the use of اسم تفضیل Here are a few instances:

خوشبوی تر (more smelling) 192a, مانند تر ,119a رستگار تر ,117a امیدوار تر ,113a نفس پاکیزه تر ,220b دوست تر و اولیتر ,218b درویش ترین 143a.

(12) The 'حرف 'به has been prefixed in the negative verb for examples: بنگردانیدم. This was common in the old classics[51] but the modern form is نگردانیدم; similarly the word می precedes نه as in this case: 'می نگفت'.

(13) With the idiomatic language, the translator has made use of the proverbs such as: میوه از میوه رنگ گیرد ,35a. نقد را بـه نسیه نفروشد 195a.

Mss. of the present book

Two Mss. of Khatib's Persian rendering of the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* have recently been discovered. One is preserved in the Asafiya Library, Hyderabad referred to by Mr. Sakhawat Mirza in the *Fikr-o-Nazar*, July, 1963. This is a defective Ms. and at least one folio in the begining is missing. I have not been able to consult the Ms. so far. The other Ms. is in the private collection of Mr. Maikash Akbarabadi about whose existence I was incidentally informed on October 17, 1972 and was fortunate to consult it at Agra two days later through Janab Maikash Sahib's permission who thereafter lent it to me for a week. It has now been transferred to the Aligarh Muslim University Library.

It is an old and valuable Ms. Its size is 31 cm 17 cm with 25 lines to a page in a clear *Naskh* style covering 332 folios, in two volumes, the first covering 174 folios and the other 158 folios. It is in a good condition. Only a few pages are slightly damaged but still readable.

At the end of the 1st Mujallad the scribe has written his name and the date of translation as follows:

تـم الـمجلد الاول المترجم من عوارف المعارف فی یوم السبت بوقت الضحی بـخـط الـعبد الضعیف النحیف الراجی الی رحمة الله العلام دلشاد (52) اقبال قوام فی التاسع من ربیع الاخر۔

At the end of th Ms. the name of the scribe and the complete date are given as follows:

تـم الـكـتـاب عـن الانتسـاخ بـخط العبد الضعيف النحيف الراجی الی رحمة الله الـعلام المدعو دلشاد بن اقبال قوام بوقت الظهر فی یوم الخميس السابع و العشرين من جمادی الاول سنة ثمان و خمسين و سبعمائة۔

Although the year in which the 1st volume was transcibed is not mentioned, it may be concluded that it should be 758 A.H.

According to the comparative table of Hijra and Christian dates, in the year 758 A.H., 9th Rabi'u'l Akhir on which the 1st volume was finished was Saturday, the day mentioned in the colophon. From this it follows that the second volume was transcribed within one month and 18 days. As the two volumes of the book are almost similar in size (Ist having 174 folios and the

second 158 folios), it may be concluded that the Ist volume may have been finished in about two months' time and the work may have been started in the month of Safar 728 A.H.

As the present book was written in India and its two known Mss. are preserved in this country we have reasons to believe that the Ms. under consideration was transcribed in India and not outside. One of the points which further tips the balance in favour of its being an Indian transcription is that the Ms. has certain orthographical peculiarities not available in Mss. transcribed in Iran. For example in Iran till the close of the 8th and even the Ist half of the 9th century a clear distinction between ذال and دال was maintained.[53] Thus the transcription of a Ms. prepared in the middle of the 8th century not retaining this peculiarity except in a very few cases,[54] may not be ascribed to Iran. Though there were certain regions like Transoxiana and parts of Afghanistan which did not maintain this distinction, the ascribing of the present Ms. to India and not to these regions is due to reasons explained above. The name of the scribe, Dilshad Iqbal Qawam is however unusual both in India and Iran.

In case the presumption is true, the Ms. under consideration would be one of the very very few oldest available Mss. which were transcribed in India. Thus this copy may serve as a model of the orthographical peculiarities of Persian writing prevalent in India till the middle of the 8th century.

The other peculiarities of the Ms. are:

(1) The letters گ، ژ، چ، پ have been represented by ز، ج، ب and ك.

(2) The کاف بیان، کاف موصول and کاف علت have mostly been written as کی as in the following:

12a; دل کار گزار است که سستی نپذیرد 12a; هر وقت کی دوست
95b; اندر شرح حال کسی کی زن خواهد 100b; اندر ذکر کسی کی از فتوح می خورد
124a; اندر قول کی اندر سماع 128b; اندر خاصیت جهله کی اهل صفه
260b; ترجمه کی این بیچاره راست 300b; زهی صبری کی بر بعضی
300b. کاسی کی از دو حال بخوردم 320b; برق است بی شك آن نه کی آن ماه روی بود

But occasionally one may come across the usual که form as in

the following:

2a; من امید دارم از خداوند کریم که نیت ...... و هرج که خداوند الخ
63b. از روزی که دلها الخ

But when کاف بیان etc. is joined with other word, it is represented by ك alone in the following:
زیراك 107b, 142a; بدانك 12b, 107b, 117a; وانك 107b; ازانك 300b; انك 321a.

The 'هر که' اسم موصول has invariably been represented by که and not کی as in the following: هر که از ذکر خداوند تعالی و از فرمان او اعراض نماید 12a; but as stated earlier کاف موصول related to the noun has been shown by کی only as کسی کی باطن خود بشوق و محبت می 115a, بدان دم سرد کی بلند بر دارد 115a. But کاف استفهام is denoted by پرورد او را گفتند نه تو سماع را می شنودی گفت نی با که، گفت با نفس خود گفت as که کی از که، 117a.

(3) As against the 5th and 6th centuries transcription, which have full 'ی' as sign of اضافت in case of words ending in های غیر ملفوظ this Ms. has the modern form ء as in the following:

بقیۀ بطالت ,(107b) رابطۀ امتزاج ,(107b) فتنۀ دیگر ,(2a) ریبۀ نفسانی (117a) طعمۀ سر (199b), دهۀ ذوالحجه (142a).

(4) Similarly the present Ms. has the modern form 'ء' in case of یای تنکیر and یای خطاب and this is quite in contrast with the form used in the earlier transcriptions. These are some of the cases of یای تنکیر گوشۀ ز ,(140a) بدان اندازۀ کی ,(158a) جامۀ کی پوشیده بود : یای خطاب and تاا گر دیدی مرا ,(141a) شایبۀ نباشد ,(99b) در هفتۀ نوبت هر یك ,(320b) دامت نیمۀ در ,(231b) نیمۀ از شب ,(142b) طایفۀ از صلحا ,(309b) می دان کی او را دیدۀ (140b)هفتۀ بماندی ,(139b) اول شب خورد و نیمۀ بآخر شب.

(5) The Arabic 'ء' used as اضافت in Persian such as:
(12b) هواء نفس ,(174b) کرانهاء دنیا ,(63b) چشمهاء روشن ,(63b) دلهاء غمناك ,(115b) خداء دو جهان ,(135b) گردنهاء ایشان ,(12b) راهها، اهل سبقت (134b) کارهاء مستقبل.

The Arabic words ending in 'الف' too have Arabic 'ء' as اضافت as in علماء ربانی (12b), حظهاء نفس (29b), but the Arabic 'ء' used in پاء مال (12b) and جاء is unexplainable. In some cases we find full ی[55] used as اضافت as in the following cases: لقای تو ، بقای تو، ثنای تو (199b).

(6) The هاى غير ملفوظ has been dropped in words like هرج (2a, 300a), انج (115a, 117a). It has also not been retained[56] while forming plurals in words like جامہا (=جه مه ها) 23a, 125a, قطرها (=قطره ها) 123a, گنجینها (= گنجینه ها) 125a, نعرها (= نعره ها) 123b, دیدها (= دیده ها) 146b, سینہا (= سینه ها) 167b.

This is the popular feature of all the earlier[57] Mss. and even grammaticaly more[58] correct than the corresponding present form.

(7) The واو معدوله has been dropped as in خشنوی 297, but in most of the words it is retained.

(8) The scribe has a tendency of writing هم، کی، بی، می etc. separate from the main words such as:

می افتد (119b), می کند (321a), می بود (309), می داشت (63b), می ترسد (119b), می گزارد (123a), می داشت (300b), می رانم (225a), می دهد (123a), می گرفت (123a) می دارد (123a) بی هوش (119b), بی شمار (187b, 313a), بی شك (35a, 163b, 320b), بی خبر (125a, 136b), بی عمل (134b), هم راز (13a, 35a, 136b, 144b), بل کی (129a), بی تناول (186b), بی فرمانی علی (119b), هم نشین (140b), هم صحبت (122a, 195b), هم چنان (191a), حده (99b, 134b), نان خورش (193b, 140a).

(9) The words بـه and نـه have been jointly[59] written with verbs or nouns as the case may be such as:

بیاگاهانید (132b, 119b, بنشیند 119b, بیندازد (119b), نبود (119b), بیستاد (123b), برنینگیزاند (187b), نپذیرفت (121b) نیابد (121b), ندارد (119b), نشنود, 133b), بتقدیر (136a), بذکر (235b), بنیابت (125b), نداشتند (35a), نفروشد, 235b, بخطاء بجفا (200), بمغرب (137b), بمشرق (137b), بخداوند (137b), بنظر (123a).

(10) 'ی' has been preferred to همزۂ ملینه as in بینایی (12b), قایل (122a), مینمایی (158a), اسراییل (298a), سایس و رایض (299a) etc.

(11) In this work the personal pronoun شما is written both as شما and شمار , and since the latter form is frequently found,[60] one becomes doubtful as to whether this is an error in the transcription or this particular form was prevalent at that time. However a few writing errors are seen here and there such as دوزخ for دوزخ (117b), ثقل for سفل (152a), غایط for غایت (181b) etc.

This is a description of the oldest Persian translation of the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* and its translator, Qasim Da'ud Khatib, and I

hope this description will succeed in inviting the attention of scholars of Muslim learning, history and literature to this highly esteemed work.

Foot Notes

1. According to the *Nafahatu'l-Uns* while returning from his Haj the Shaikh returned to Baghadad and became a disciple of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din, (p.504).
2. The translator is Major Raverty, vol. II, pp. 724-27.
3. So styled because he was the slave of Sultan Mu'izzu'd-Din Muhammad-i-Sam Ghuri.
4. He had shown disaffection, and when Iyalduz marched towards Delhi against Iyaltutmish, the Turkish chiefs of Ghaznin put him as well as the former Wazir to death. See Raverty: pp. 504-05.
5. This is certainly a wrong reading. It is identical with the title of Sultan Jalalu'd-Din Khwarazmshah (d.628 A.H.) which is given as Mang-Barni by Raverty in the index p. 5. Mirza Muhammad Qazwini has supplied very useful information about the readings of this word and its meanings (see the تاریخ جہانگشای جوینی، حواشی و اضافات v. 2, pp. 284-92). The word has been spelt in various Arabic and Persian texts as منکبرنی and منکبرتی interpreted differently by the modern scholars as Mankberni, Mangburni, Mang-Barni, Mangonbirti, Mankobirti, Mangouberdy, Monkke-birdi etc. Mirza Muhammad has also referred to this statement of Minhaj-i-Siraj with the conclusion that this Turkish title which was assigned to people of rank in some Islamic countries, may perhaps be equivalent to the Persian title هزار مرده or very near to it. Perhaps the meaning هزار is contained in this title for مینگ in Turkish means the number one thousand *(Ibid)*. The Persian text as edited by Mr. 'Abdu'l-Hayy Habibi (v. 2, pp. 5-6) clearly confirms the views expressed by Qazwini, which runs as follows:

   خلق اورا هزار مرده گفتندی بدین سبب او را منکبرنی لقب فرموده بود۔

   From the present Persian version of the *'Awarif* it is evident that two titles viz. Kabir Khani and Mankbirni were conferred on Ayaz Khan, the father of Sultan Taju'd-Din. It may also be added that هزار مرد was a title prevalent in Iran. Accoriding to the *Kamil al-Mubarradi*, Istanbul edition, p.245, Fatima bint 'Umar b. Hafs was entitled as هزار مرد *see Tarikh -i-Jahangusha*, v. 2, p. 289 n.
6. He must have, consequently, fallen under the Sultan's displeasure, for some reason.
7. The feudatory of Multan got the fief of Lahore in lieu of it.
8. This indicates that the province of Multan as well as Uchcha was called Sind in those days. Some writers style all the tract as far north as the Salt Range by the name of Sind.
9. Raverty has made a mention of his holding sovereignty on p. 656 n, p. 663 n, 5 and p. 810 n.
10. See *Tabaqat*, Vol. 1, Raverty's translation p. 374 n, para 2.
11. On the occasion of Manguta's invasion in 643 A.H., a slave of Taju'd-Din

seeks support from the court of Delhi from which it may be inferred that Taju'd-Din was not alive (Raverty, pp. 809-10).

12. This shows the state of the Delhi Kingdom at that time, for although the father had openly thrown off his sovereign, the latter appears to have been unable to recover possession of those provinces until after some time elapsed on the death of the son, Abu-Bakr-i-Ayaz.
13. See Habibi's ed. Vol. 2 p. 5.
14. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Oct. 1964, pp. 47-53.
15. *Ibid., pp.* 364-65, F 381-84.
16. Cal. edition, pp. 233-36, Raverty's translation, pp.724-26.
17. It is quoted in the *Majmu'a-i-Lata'if* by Saif-i-Jam, British Museum Ms. f. 192a (14 lines) also in the Kabul University Ms.; in the *'Arafat-i-'Ashiqin* (23 lines), *Khulasatu'l Ash'ar* (Bankipur Ms.) f. 349a (24 lines).
18. *'Awarifu'l-Ma 'arif*, ed. 1292, 1/32.
19. *Ibid.*, 2/105.
20. *Ibid.*, 2/106.
21. *"Awarifu'l-Ma'arif*, ed. 1292, 2/113.
22. *Ibid.*, 2/117.
23. *Ibid.*, 1/104.
24. It may be compared with Amir Kusrau's beautiful line:

من تو شدم تو من شدی من تن شدم تو جان شدی
تا کس نگوید بعد از این من دیگرم تو دیگری

25. Sa'di says:

تو گردن ز فرمان داور مپیچ　　　که گردن نپیچد ز حکم تو هیچ

26. His father Shaikh Najibu'd-Din 'Ali b. Buzghush (d. 678) was a disciple of Shaikh Suhrawardi,and the latter had sent a khirqa for the son viz., Zahiru'd-Din (*Shaddu'l-Izar*, pp. 334-38); *Nafahatu'l- Uns*, pp. 473-74; for Zahiru'd-Din's life see *Shiraznama*, p. 144, *Shaddu'l-Izar*, pp. 338-39, *Nafahatu'l-Uns*, pp. 474-75 and Haji Khalifa. In all these works Zahiru'd-Din's Persian translation has been mentioned; while a single available Ms. was noticed by Pertsch, *Berlin catalogue*, p. 89. An old and very valuable Ms. dated Safar 29, 891 A.H. is preserved in the Muslim University Library 'Aligarh, Habib collection Persian Ms. No. 21/63. The writer intends introducing it very shortly.
27. For its reading see *Shaddu'l-Izar*, p. 339a 6.
28. Shaikh Isma'il finished his translation in 665 A.H. An important Ms. dated 27th Sha'ban 897 is preserved in the British Museum but this is not included in the printed catalogue prepared by Rieu. Another copy is available in Nur Library, Istanbul under Ms. No. 4320 (see *Fikr-o-Nazar*, July ' 63, pp. 99, 108-109).
29. He was the grandson of Zahiru'd-Din Shirazi, for his life see *Shaddu'l-Izar*, pp. 339-41. A valuable copy of his translation of the *'Awarif* is preserved in the Cambridge University Library, see, *Cat. of Persian Mss.* p. 88.
30. It is a translation of an Arabic work no longer in existence, made by 'Ali Kufi in 613 A.H. at Uchcha under the famous ruler Nasiru'd-Din Qabacha. It has been edited by Dr. Da'ud Potah and published from Hyderabad in 1939.

31. Its translator was Muaiyid Jajarmi who was a scholar and divine but about whom nothing is known except what he has given in the introduction to his work. He was attached to Nizamu'l Mulk Junaidi, the famous Wazir of Iltutmish and the translation was perhaps started in Delhi in 620 A.H. and finished during the life time of the said Sultan (d.633), see ضمیمه اورینٹل کالیج میگزین، فروری و مئی ۱۹۵۳ pp. 41-45. Unfortunately no complete Ms. of the whole work is available. However the available parts are:
    (a) One part is available in British Museum London not included in the *Catalogues of Persian Mss.* prepared by Rieu as it was perhaps obtained later. It comprises most of the قسم اول ربع dealing with عبادات .
    (b) Another part is available in the Punjab University, Lahore(Sherani Collection) comprising parts of the قسم سوم ربع dealing with مہلکات . It is a valuable Ms. of 197 folios dated 797.
    (c) The third part is available in the private collection of the late prof. M. Shafi' of Lahore which comprises قسم چهارم ربع dealing with منجیات. It is a voluminous Ms. containing 332 folios (see ضمیمه اورینٹل کالج میگزین فروری ۱۹۵۳ 67-68).
32. Its translator was the most famous scholar and writer Muhammad 'Awfi who did it at Uchcha in 620 A.H. at the instance of Nasiru'd-Din Qabacha. No complete Ms. is known to exist; only a Ms. containing the second volume is available in the India OfficeLibrary (Ms. No. 737).
33. It is the Persian translation of Beruni's book كتاب الصيدنه and its translator was Abu-Bakr Kasani who completed it in 611 A.H. during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish. One copy is preserved in British Museum, another in the private collection of late Prof. Shafi' of Lahore and an abridged Ms. is available in A.M.U. Library, Aligarh. The writer published an article on the Persian translation in the *Indo-Iranica* Vol. XIV, No. 3, Sep. 1961, pp. 5-24. Beruni's Arabic Original (a defective copy) is preserved at Brussa (see *Indo-Iranica*, Sep. 1961, p. 7).
34. The verses have been quoted to elucidate his point and evidently these are not available in the Arabic text. On f. 139 he quotes Hakim Sana'is two lines:

    شهادت گفتن آن باشد که هم ز اول در آشامی همه دریای هستی را بدان حرف نهنگ آسا
    چو لا از حد انسانی فگندت در ره حیرت پس از نور الوهیت بالله آی از الا

    (See *Diwan-i-Sana'i*, p. 52).
35. *Qur'an*, Surah 43, verse 36.
36. *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif*, ed. 1292, 1/11.
37. F. 12b.
38. *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* 1/99.
39. Ms. f.
40. He also uses سخن as F. 48 سخن می گفت F. 169, سخن گوید F. 207b بعد از سخن ایشان بضرورت باشد F.225b توبه سخن نیست .
41. He also uses the word in the usual sense as F. 140b, سکونت او در ابهر بود .
42. بنازکی آیدست استقبال نماید
43. اگر صوفی را بینی کی اوبار کوه و کوزه نیست خواهد یا نخواهد تو بدانك که او عزم بر ترك نماز دارد

44. درمیان هر دو عشا یعنی میان نماز شام و نماز خفتن 225a.
45. اندرمیان دو عشاست یعنی شام و خفتن 228a.
46. See pp. 317, 352, 353, 355 (Dr. Faiyaz: Ist edition). In Abid's edition this note is added(see p. 355 n. 1):
هنگام نماز عصر را بلغت پارسی "دیگر" گویند' - - این محاورات مخصوص مردم غور وغوش و زابل و طخارستان است۔
47. سلطان نماز شام بماه دیدن برون آید..... و نماز دیگر بدر سراپردهٔ سلطان شدم
(*Chahar Maqala*, Zawwar ed., 1333 Solar, p. 62).
48. A solitary example of this type may be available in the work under consideration. On f. 217b we come across a similar example in حاجتہا مختلفه او را هواها بانواع باشد و حاجتہا مختلفه بود۔ :
49. But instances of using بعضی in plural number are also available. For example: بعضی صوفیه می گویند 182a.
50. It is worth noticing that the translator, though using plural pronouns for collective nouns, uses singular verbs for them.
51. See the *Kashfu'l Asrar*, v. 2, p. 29 and *Makatib-i-Sana'i*,p. 90.
52. Perhaps used as اضافت این .
53. See Nazir Ahmad: ذال فارسی published in the مجلهٔ ایرانشناسی، دانشگاه تہران v. 3.
54. A few cases in which a distinction has been retained are these: برادر with ذال on foll. 118b, 143b, 157b, 169b, 171b, 258b, 260a. 260b, 264a, 265a, 265b, 270a, etc. but on many foll, we come across برادر with دال such as 157b, 266a, 270a, etc., برادران with ذال on foll. 158b, 165a, 173b, 206a but at many a place the word appears with برادری: دال with ذال foll. 143b, 154a, 157b etc., پدر with ذال foll. 50b, 143b, 193b, 259 etc. But at many places it is with خداوند . دال with مادر but mostly it is ,foll. 116a, 211a ذال with مادر۔ دال with ذال on foll. 50a, 200a, 297 etc; but at most of the places it is خداوند with ذال on f. 24a but mostly it is خدای .. خدمت with ذال on with دال. خدای with ذال on f. 24a but it is mostly خدمت (with دال). بذین with ذال on f. 37a etc. but at most of the places it is بدین as usual.
55. The یای اضافت has been jointly written as in دعایتر (199b); in some cases مضاف and مضاف الیه have been joined together as دلمن (218b).
56. There is no uniformity even in modern times. For example in the *Zainu'l Akhbar*, Habibi Ed. p. 198 one may come across بیشه ها while in the same book on p. 200 in قلعہا the های مختفی has been dropped.
57. For example see *Al-Abnia*, Facsimile Ed. bases on a Ms. dated 447 A.H. transcribed by the reputed poet, Asadi Tusi, in which مادها (p. 27) appears with ها .
58. های غیر ملفوظ indicating the زیر sign has no purpose if it comes in the middle of the word for its position is always at the end of a Persian word.
59. At least in a few cases به has been separated from the main word as in به بیند.
60. See Foll. 220b, 222a.

ZAHIR UD-DIN ABDUR RAHMAN b. ALI b. BUZGHUSH SHIRAZI AND HIS TRANSLATION OF THE AWARIFUL MA'ARIF

Very recently the writer discovered and introduced the oldest Persian translation of Shaikh Shihabud-Din Suhrawardi's *'Awariful Ma'arif*, made by Qasim Da'ud Khatib at the instance of Sultan Tajud-Din Abu Bakr-i-Ayaz, the then ruler of Sind and Multan, sometime between 640 and 643 A.H. at Multan. The translator had obtained the blessings of his spiritual guide Shaikhul Islam Hazrat Bahaud-Din Zakariya (d. 656) in this task who had consented to supervise the work.

The next translator of the said *'Awariful Ma'arif* was Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman b. 'Ali b. Buzghush (d. 716) a disciple of his father 'Ali b. Buzghush (d. 678) who in his own turn was an associate and disciple of Shaikh Suhrawardi (d. 632).

Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman has narrated the circumstances in which he undertook to render the *'Awariful Ma'arif* in Persian. According to the Shaikh the most comprehensive book on Sufistic doctrine leading successfully to the path of spiritual perfection and sublimity was the *'Awariful Ma'arif* and his father, the *murshid* of the time Shaikh Najibud-Din Ali b. Buzghush was an ardent[1] upholder of the teaching of Shaikh Suhrawardi as incorporated in the said book.

The scholars of the age after having acquired perfection in Islamic learning approached Shaikh Najibud-Din 'Ali to have some training in spiritualism. The *khanqah* of the Shaikh where day in and day out discussions were held on problems of sufism in the light of the *'Awarif* was the best resort for the seekers of truth. The scholarly gathering had also attracted some of the seekers who were not well-versed in learning and science mainly due to their incompetence in Arabic language with the obvious result that they could not be profited by this assemblage of the pious. The translator who was one of the participants of that gathering was fully convinced of the urgency of Persian rendering of the *'Awarif* but being conscious of his limitations he could not find himself quite agreeable to the proposal of translating the Arabic original into

Persian. At last it was revealed to him that instead of relying on his own resources he should rely on God. Thereupon he approached his teacher Shaikh Najibud-Din 'Ali, who was also his father, for advice and the latter gladly approving of the proposal enjoined upon the translator to complete the assignment.

Then the translator adds a note on the conditions he kept before him while translating the book which might be summed up as follows :

1. It was not meant to disturb the arrangement of the Arabic original.
2. It was deemed to be almost a faithful translation.
3. The quotations from the Quran and traditions had to be retained along with their Persian translations.
4. Such Arabic words and phrases as were common in Persian were allowed to be retained in the Persian rendering.
5. In the appendix (خاتمه) a glossary of difficult words and technical terms had to be supplied.
6. The Persian rendering was to be assigned the title :
   Kitab-i-Ma'arif il 'Awarif fi Tarjuma-i-'Awarif il Ma'arif.

This is what 'Abdur Rahman has stated in the introduction. The real compiler of the work is one Muhammad b. Mahmud Gaziruni, a pupil of Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman who has informed us in his note prefixed to the translator's introduction that Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman 'Ali on the completion of his transltion desired to dictate to one of his pupils and luckily the choice fell on Muhammad b. Mahmud. The latter was gifted with the poetic talent, so he describes the event partly in prose and partly in verse in this way :

و چون از سواد آن فارغ شد و عزم مبارکش در املاء آن مصمم فرمود، هریك از مریدان این درگاه و معتقدان این خانقاه که ذو فنون عهد و در انواع هنر ارباب حل و عقد اند و نفوس نفیس ایشان از فیض فضل الهی مستفیض و دلهای منورشان از انوار نا متناهی مقتبس بود:

هر یکی را فنون فضل و کمال   بی گمان از سر یقین حاصل
همه در علم در عمل کامل   جمله صوفی و عارف و واصل
در مریدان او جز این مسکین   نیست نا اهل و ناقص و غافل

کمر مطاوعت بر میان جان بسته داشتند و گردن دانش بر افراشتند ...... نا گاه خطاب مستطاب انَّ الفضل بید الله یوتیه من یشاء بگوش ایشان رسید و عکس

تجلی این نور بر طور دل خسته تافت ...... و آیت عنایت در حق بیچارهٔ افتاده سر بزانوی بیحاصلی نهاده منزل شد و کتاب را من اوله الی آخره بر کمترین مریدان و کهترین خادمان خود :

آنکه تا شد مقیم در گاهش — طالعش شد مساعد و مسعود
وانکه تا قاصد جنابش شد — حاصلش گشت مقصد و مقصود
وانکه مقبول شیخ اگر نشدی — جمله احوال او بدی مردود
کهتر بندگان حضرت حق — کمترین خلایق معبود
چاکر خادمان حضرت شیخ — گازرونی محمد محمود

املا کرده و بلفظ مبارك درر معانی و اشارت در سلك تحریر و عبارت کشید الخ :

Muhammad Gaziruni extols the virtues of his master, Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman in these verses :

آن مکمل که در خصال کمال — مثل او نیست در جهان موجود
و آن محقق که در بیان سلوك — مثل او نیست در جهان مفقود
قطب وقت آنکه بر وی است امروز — عالم کون را مدار وجود
شیخ مطلق ظهیر ملت و دین — منبع خیر محض معدن جود
واصف واقعات راه سلوك — کاشف واردات وجد و وجود
دافع معضلات اهل وصول — رافع مشکلات کشف و شهود
در همه حال جز تحمل و حلم — هرگز از وی نیامده بوجود
در همه وقت حال او تسلیم — کار او دایماً وفا بعهود
در همه کار جز تواضع و رفق — نیست هرگز ز خلق او معهود
متحقق به اتباع رسول — متخلق بخلق رب ودود
نقد وقت وی آمده بیقین — هر چه هست اهل کشف را موعود
هر چند گویند در کمالاتش — نیست کس را دران مجال جحود

About the Persian rendering his views are expressed in these verses :

بس نکته در این کتاب جمع است — کانهاست دقیقه نزد عارف
لفظش نه عوارف است لیکن — هم ترجمه است هم عوارف
جمع است در این جمیع عرفان — شد نام مبارکش ازین سبب معارف

It is not known when 'Abdur Rahman completed the assignment. However this much is certain that the work was finished within the life time of his father Najibud-Din 'Ali b. Buzghush who is stated to have died in 678 A.H. Thus the work wa completed some time before this date. In this connexion Prof. Huma'i has expressed some fantastic ideas (مقدمهٔ مصباح الهدایة pp. 38-39; also see مجلهٔ فکر و نظر: July 1963 pp. 108-11).

As 'Abdur Rahman has not mentioned[2] Qasim Da'ud Khatib's translation which ws completed between 640 and 643 A.H., it would be a wrong assumption if a date prior to these is assigned to 'Abdur Rahman's translation.

Now it is proper to add some thing about the translator and his family.

***His father*:**

Zahirud-Din 'Abdur Rahman himself an eminent sufi saint, was the son of the renowned saint Shaikh Najibud-Din 'Ali b. Buzghush.[3] His grandfather Buzghush b. 'Abdullah[4] was a trader[5] who migrated from Syria to Shiraz and married the daughter of Qazi Sharafud-Din Muhammad Husaini[6] (d. 641). One day Hazrat 'Ali blessed Buzghush in a dream with the birth of a son to him. When the child was[7] born his father named him 'Ali after the name of Hazrat Amir and gave him the title of Najibud-Din.[8]

Najibud-Din 'Ali had a sufistic disposition who preferred to lead a life of piety and austerity. One night he dreamt[9] that a Pir was coming from the mausoleum of Shaikh-i-Kabir[10] followed by six other Pirs. The first Pir smiled at 'Ali, caught hold of him and gave him to the last in the line with the remark that it was a trust which God had entrusted him. When 'Ali revealed the content of the dream to his father, the latter told him that none but Shaikh Ibrahim Majzub[11] would give its correct interpretation. The Shaikh Majzub informed that the last Pir whom 'Ali was entrusted would be spiritual guide and advised him to seek his Pir. Consequently Najibud-Din 'Ali set out on Hajj pilgrimage. There he met Shaikh Shihabud-Din Suhrawardi and recognised him as the Pir whom he was entrusted. The Shaikh too knew it before hand and so 'Ali was readily admitted into his order as one of the Shaikh's disciples. Najibud-Din 'Ali had stayed with him for a long time and thereafter he was allowed to return to Shiraz, where he got married, built a monastery and devoted himself in training people and guiding his disciples.

Najibud-Din composed treatises which were based on the teachings of Shaikh Suhrawardi. Perhaps some of these were available to Jami who has quoted from them in his *Nafahatul-Uns.*[12].

It is stated by Jami[13] that on some one's request Shaikh

Najibud-Din illustrated unity of God by a simile of two mirrors and an apple, which was versified by a poet thus:

شیخی کامل نجیب دین پیر کہن   این حرف نو آورد بصحرای سخن
گفته که ز وحدت ار مثالی خواهی   سیبی و دو آئینه تصور می کن

On another occasion the Shaikh remarked that they always prayed the mole of God though he is independent of 'mole'. This was again versified by the same poet:

ای آنکه ترا بحسن تمثالی نیست   چون حال من از خال رخت خالی نیست
وصافی من همه ز خال رخ تست   وین طرفه که بر رخ تو خود خالی نیست

The Shaikh died at Shiraz in Sha'ban,[14] 678 A.H. Qazi Saiyid Mujtaba 'Usmani composed a short elegy on his death which is quoted in the *Shaddul Izar.*[15] It begins thus:

مَضَی شیخُنا الشیوخ بَأسرهم   و قد کان فی الاسلام قطباً معظماً

One of Najibud-Din's friends was the reputed saint Shaikh Shamsud-Din[16] Muhammad b. Safi. The latter learnt the Quran from the former while the former studied *Fiqh* from the latter. Najibud-Din had visited his *murshid* Shaikh Shihabud-Din at Baghdad in the company of Shaikh Safi and both had lived there and had returned together to Shiraz.[17] Shamsud-Din Muhammad died at Shiraz in 642 A.H. and was buried in Musalla.[18]

Najibud-Din had a number of disciples of whom the most reputed was Shaikh Nurud-Din 'Abdus Samad[19] of Natanz in Isfahan. The latter's two disciples in their own turn had earned wide reputation. One was Shaikh 'Izzud-Din Mahmud Kashi'[20] (d. 735) who is the author of a Persian rendering[21] of the *'Awariful Ma'arif* entitled as *Misbahul-Hidaya* edited and published in 325 in Tehran by Prof. Jalalud-Din Huma'i. The other is Shaikh Kamalud-Din 'Abdur Razzaq Kashi whose one long letter addressed to Ruknud-Daula 'Alaud-Din is quoted in the *Nafahat.*[22]

Zahirud-Din 'Abdur Rahman.

He was not only a son to Najibud-Din 'Ali but also a devoted pupil and disciple. It is stated in the *Shaddul Izar*[23] and *Nafahatul Uns*[24] that on his birth Shaikh Shihabud-Din Suhrawardi sent a portion of his *khirqa* in which the new babe was wrapped.[25]

During his father's life time 'Abdur Rahman set out on a

pilgrimage to Hajj and there on the day of '*Arafa* he dreamt that he had visited the tomb of the Prophet (peace be on him) in Madina and sent his blessings on him to which this reply came.[26]

"و عليك السلام يا ابا النجاشى"

When his father heard of it he was exceedingly pleased and remarked that 'Abdur Rahman had succeeded in his design.

'Abdur Rahman returned to his native town and started teaching his pupils and writing books of which the most reputed one is his Persian translation of the *'Awarful Ma'arif* prepared under the title of *Ma'ariful Izar* p. 339 and *Nafahat* p. 475, in 718 A.H., but according to the *Shiraz nama* whose author was his pupil, in 714 A.H. and the same date is also recorded in the *Mujmal-i-Fasihi.*[27]

One of the pupils of 'Abdur Rahman was Mu'inud-din Ahmad b. Abil Khair Zarkub Shirazi who belonged to the illustrious Zarkub family of Shiraz. He and his brother 'Izzud-in Mahmud have been dealt with by the author of *Shaddul Izar.*[28] .... Mu'inud-Din Ahmad's[29] book on Shiraz under the title of *Shiraz Nama*[30] composed about 734 A.H., is a well-known treatise on this subject. According to his own statement Mu'inud-Din studied part of[31] the *'Awariful Ma'arif* from Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman in 714 A.H.[32] According to the author of the *Shaddul Izar* he died in 789A.H.

Another pupil was Muhammad b. Mahmud of Gazirun who as stated earlier, had compiled Shaikh's translation of the *'Awariful Ma'arif*, but about him nothing more is known.

'Abdur Rahman's grandson, Junaid:

Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman had a son named Fazlullah. About this son we have no informtion except that his one son Sadrud-Din-Junaid[33] was a renowned scholar and saint who had been in Baghdad for quite a long time with Shaikh Jibril.[34] From there Shaikh Junaid went on a sacred pilgrimage to Mecca and thence to Syria where he came in contact with the scholars and divines and studied under them important books on Islamic learning. Of these scholars the following are mentioned by Mu'inud-Din Junaid Shirazi in his *Shaddul Izar.*[35]

1. Shaikh Jamalud-Din Ibrahim[36] b. Abul Barakat Hanbali Ba'labaki.
2. Shaikh Salahud-Din[37] Khalil b. Kaikaladi.

3. Shaikh 'Alaud-Din[38] 'Ali b. Ayyub Maqdasi.
4. Zainab bint[39] Ahmad b. 'Abdur Rahman of Baitul Maqdis.

Shaikh Junaid is the author of a number of works of which the following are mentioned in the *Shaddul Izar*[40]:

1. *Naqawatul Akhbar minal Naqlatil Akhyar fi Sharh Ahadis in Nabi-il Mukhtar.*
2. *Kitab Zailil Ma'arif fi Tarjamat il -Awarif.*

The second book is a Persian translation of Shaikh Shihabud-Din Suhrawardi's *'Awariful Ma'arif*. A manuscript copy of this Persian rendering is preserved in the Cambridge University Library. This commentary has been introduced by Prof. E. G. Browne in the *Cat. of the Persian Mss.*on pp. 87-89. According to him the commentary is preceded by a preface covering 4 pages. After the doxology the author Junaid b. Fazlullah states that from his youth he took pleasure in the society of sufis and dervishes, and was privileged to converse with many eminent Shaikhs from whom he received instructions in the mystic doctrine. Amongst all the works written on this doctrine none seemed to him equal in merit to the *'Awarif*, nor did any commentary on this appear to him so good as the translation made by his grandfather Zahirud-Din Abun- Najashi 'Abdur Rahman. After explaining how his grand-father obtained the *kunniya* of Abun-Najashi the author states that he conceived the desire of attaching himself to his saddle bow, so that, even though unable to realise in himself the proverb "he who assimilates himself to a people becomes as one of them", he might at least, like the dogs of the Seven Sleepers, obtain a blessing from the relation. With many humble apologies for undertaking a task so far in excess of his powers as the elucidation of Shaikh Suhrawardi's great work, he dedicates his essay (which he prays the reader not to regard as a book) (أنرَ از قبيل تصانيف نه شمرند) to Shah Shuja[41] Abul Fawaris.

Junaid has not translated the whole of the *'Awarif*, indeed the whole text is not given, the explanations (which are partly in Arabic, partly in Persian) being confined to the elucidation of the difficult words and passages. The Arabic element is greatly in excess of the Persian.

The present Ms. was trnscribed as appears from the colophon on f. 72a, by Muhammad el-Bukhari in Jumada II, A.H. 1000.

Junaid b. Fazlullah died in Shiraz in 791 A.H.[42] and ws buried in the same graveyard where his ancestors were buried.[43]

Now it is proper to add some thing about 'Abdur Rahman's translation of the *'Awariful Ma'Arif.*

The present work is characterised by the following:

1. Like the Aabic Original it is divided into 63 chapters called *Bab* and the title of all chapters have been rendered into Persian such as:

باب اول در اصل و منشاء علوم صوفیان
باب دوم در تخصیص صوفیان بحسن استماع
باب سوم در بیان فضیلهٔ علوم صوفیان و اشاره بنموداری از آن
باب چهارم در شرح حال صوفیان و اختلاف طبیعت ایشان
باب پنجم در ذکر ماهیت تصوف
باب ششم در ذکر خواندن صوفیان بدین نام
باب هفتم در ذکر متصوف و متشبه

2. It is a faithful translation of the *'Awarif*. What the translator had proposed in the introduction is perfectly borne out by the translation. The following quotation from the Arabic text and Persian translation will fully bear me out:

الباب (44) الثالث و العشرون فی القول فی السماع رداً و انکاراً قد ذکرنا وجه صحة السماع و ما یلیق منه باهل الصدق، وحیث کثرت الفتنة بطریقه و زالت العصمة فیه و تصدی للحرص علیه اقوام قلت اعمالهم و فسدت احوالهم و اکثروا الاجتماع للسماع و ربما یتخذ للاجتماع طعام تطلب لذلک لارغبة للقلوب فی السماع کما کان من سیر الصادقین فیسیر السماع معلولا ترکن الیه النفوس طلباً للشهوات و استحلاء لمواطن اللهو و الغفلات و بقطع ذلک علی المرید طلب المزید و یکون بطریقه تضیع الاوقات و قلة الحظ من العبادات و تکون الرغبة فی الاجتماع طلبا تناول الشهوة و استرواحا لاولی الطرب و اللهو و العشرة، و لا یخفی ان هذاالاجتماع مردود ممتد احل الصدق و کان یقال لا یصح السماع الّا لعارف مکین و لا یباح لمرید المبتدی و قال الجنید رحمة الله تعالی اذا رایت المرید یطلب السماع فاعلم انّ فیه بقیة البطالة و قیل ان الجنید ترک السماع فقیل له: کنت تستمع ؟ فقال: مع من ؟ قیل له تسمع لنفسک فقال ممن لانهم کانوا لا یسمعون لا من اهل مع اهل، فلما فقد الاخوان ترک، فاختاروا السماع حیث اختاروه الا بشروط و قیود و آداب یذکرون به الاخرة و یرغبون فی الجنة و یحذورن من النار۔

باب (45) بیست و سوم در قول درسماع بسبیل رد و انکار شیخ قدس روحه گوید ما یاد کردیم صحت و درستی سماع و آنچه از آن لایق بود باهل صدق و چون فتنه

بسیار گشت و عصمت برخاست در طریق سماع و قومی که اعمال ایشان اندک است و احوال ایشان فاسد بحرص روی در آوردند و بسیار جمعیت ساختند و گاه گاه نیز طعام از بهر آن سازند که نفوس و طبایع مایل این جمعیت گردد طعام را نه سماع را بخلاف آنچه سیر صالحان بوده، پس بدین وجه سماع معلول گشت و نفوس بدان مایل شد شهوات را و استحلا و شیرین یافتن مواطن لهو و غفلات را پس بدین منقطع گشت بر مرید طالب از چنین سماع طلب مزید، و مشغولی بدان تضییع اوقات و اندکی حظ از عبادات باز دید آید و رغبت در چنین سماع و اجتماع طلب تناول شهوات و استرواح بطرب و لهو و عشرت بود و خافی و پوشیده نبود که چنین اجتماع مردود و نزد اهل صدق نا مقبول بود و گفته اند سماع درست و لایق نبود الا عارف متمکن منتهی را و مریدی مبتدی را لایق و موافق نبود۔

وجنید رحمة الله علیه گفت: چون مرید را بینی که مایل بسماع است، بدانکه درو بقیتی است از بطالت و بیکاری، و گفته اند جنید در آخر کار ترک سماع کرد، او را گفتند چرا ترک سماع کردی و نشنوی ؟ گفت: مع من ؟ با که بشنونم ؟ گفتند تنها بشنو، گفت: منمن از که بشنونم زیرا که ایشان سماع نشنودنده الاّاز اهل سمع با اهل سمع، پس چون برادران که اهل آن بودند، نیافت ترک کرد، پس ایشان را که سماع اختیار کردند بشروط و قیود اختیار کردند و در آن آدابی نگاه داشتند که مذکر آخرت و مرغب در بهشت بود، وبیم کننده از دوزخ۔

3. 'Abdur Rahman has given the metrical translation in Persian of most of the verses of the original. Though the writer has not mentioned as to who was the translaotr of the verses, perhaps it is 'Abdur Rahman himself. A representative translation in verse which is quoted below would show his power of versification as well as his skill as a translator:

قوم هموهم بالله قد علقت
فالهم هم تسموا الی أحد
قومی که همتشان بود پیوسته در الله و بس
نابوده شان دیگر همم نابوده اندر بند کس
فطلب القوم مولا هم و سیدهم
باحسن مطلبهم و للواحد الصمد
جمله شده جویان آن مولا و سید را ز جان
ای بس خوشا مطلوبشان یاکا یکی فریاد رس
ما ان ینازعهم دنیا و لا شرف
من المطاعم و اللذات و الولد
دنیا و جاه دلفریب ناکرده با ایشان عتیب
از مطعم و لذات و زیب بر کنده دندان هوس
و لا للبس ثیاب فایق انق

و لا لـــروح ســـرور حــل فـــی بــلــد
نه بر لباس مـفـتـخـر افـتـاد شـان هر گز نظر
نه عیش خوش را بوده اند در شهر حرص پر هوس
الا ســـارعة فـــی انـــر مـــنـزلـــه
قـــد قـــارب الـــخـطـوفـهـا بـــاعـدالابـد
لـکـن همه دایم دوان و اندر پی منزل روان
آن مـنـزلی کز رهروان خالی نبوده یك نفس
فهـــم رهـــائـــن عـــذران و اودیة
و فـــی الشـوامـخ تـلـقـاهـم مـع الـعـدد
گشته همه در آب گـو و اندر بیابانها گرو
خواهی بسر کوهان برو یا بی همه با چند کس

4. Except the introduction, the language of the translation is clear and simple. The sentences are short, and very rarely compound and complex sentences have been used. The passage quoted above will fully substantiate this point. A few sentences from the introduction are also quoted below:

لا جرم چون فـضـلاء فـحـول وعـلـمـاء صـاحـب فروع و اصول درین مشرع شروع کـردنـدی گوشه نشیان پای بدامن و خوشه چینان این خرمن که از صوامع و بقاع به شوق استـمـاع ایـن نـادره و اجتماع این دایره مجتمع گشته و مستمع شده تا مگر از نـغـمـات ایـن طوطیان شکر فشان نغمهٔ بگوش هوش جانشان در رسد تا از آن پرده از جان و دل پژمـرده هـزاران پـرده دریـدن گیـرد تا جان بلب رسیده شان از نفایس این انـفـاس یـمـن نشـان نـفـسی پذیرد تا زند گی از سر گیرد، لکن چون عده عربیت مدد آرزو و امـنـیـت شـان نـدادی در کف تحیر شان ازین دریای در فشان جز کف تحسر نیفتادی، لا جرم از یمین و یسار رخسار عجز و انکسار بر زانوی حسرت نـهـادنـدی و از سینه های پاك آهای سوزناك پر آورندی تا دریافت این دولت را چه چاره سازند و بـا لـب خشك بـر لـب آب حیات چند در سازند ناگاه از قداحهٔ صدق این صادقان شرری در دل سوختـهٔ ایـن ضعیف افتاد کـه آیا چه شدی و چون افتادی اگر مرا دستگیری ایـن درمـانـد گـان دسـت دادی تـا مـگـر از پایمردی مرادشان در مرادی بگشادی، با خود گفتم:

Mss. of 'Abdur Rahman's translation.

A few Mss. of this translation exist in the libraries of the world. One is preserved in the Berlin Library which has been briefly described by Pertsch in the Berlin Catalogue p. 89. Two other Mss. are preserved in the Aligarh Muslim University Library, Aligarh, of which one is an old copy dated 891 as the colophon clearly shows:

و قد وقع الفراغ من تحریر هذا الکتاب الشریف بعون الملك اللطیف فی التاسع و العشرین من شهر صفر ختم بالخیر و الظفر لسنة احدی و ثمانمایة الهجریه۔

It is in a very clear Naskh style; size 26 cm. × 17 cm.; 27 lines a page; foll. 210. The 1st folio is missing. Some of the orthographical peculiarities are as follows:

1. In some letters Zal-i-Farsi is frequently used such as:

فرموذ	f. 9b
رسیده بوذ	f. 9b
نرسیده بوذ	f. 9b
نهاذه	f. 51a
آمذه است	f. 58a
آمذه ام	f. 58a
بذان	f. 56b
براذران	57a, براذر 166a, 169b, براذری 166a.
خذای	51a, 165b, 166a, 167b, 159.
خذاوند	166a
خذای را بوذ	170a
داذه اند	153b, 170a
خوذ	158a, 158b, 167b.
نبوذ	158a, 167b.
بوذ	166a
بوذه اند	154a
آمذه	165b
بایذ	167b
آمذه بوذ	169b

But except in one or two cases, all these words appear in this very Ms. with دال as well.

2. In words ending in الف, in case of همزهٔ ملینه، اضافت has been invariably used such as:

دلهاء ایشان	9b, 160a, 166a.
اندرونهاء ایشان	11a
بابهاء آن	58a
دنیاء وی	58a
بخششهاء حق	158a
هواء نفس	158a
دلهاء صالحان، دعاء او	168a
دلهاء بندگان، درهاء دوزخ	168a
اداء شکر	153b

154a تقاضاء آن

3. In case of plural های مختفی has been dropped such as :

. چشمه ها .f. 50a. i.e از دل او چشمهاء آب حیات روان گشت

4. In case of یای مصدر appearing in words ending in واو both حمزهٔ ملینه and یا have been used such as:

153b روشنایی, 10a نیکوئی, 11a شنوائی, 11a آرزونی.

5. The letters پ، چ، ژ and گ have as usual been represented by ب، ج، ز and ک .

The other Ms. of the Aligarh Muslim University Library is in very ordinary Nasta'liq hand whose scribe is Saiyid Muhammad Imam alias Shah Gada who transcribed it on Friday the 25th Zi-Qa'dah 1170 from a Ms. in the library of Sultan Muhammad Qutbshah of Hyderabad. This last Ms. ws transcribed in 1029 by Muhammad Mumin Sh'-azi. Its size is 26.2 cm. × 20 cm. : with 21 lines in a page.

The present study is meant as a supplement to my previous article published in the *Indo-Iranica*, 1972 under the title of "The Earliest Persian translation of the *'Awariful Ma'arif*." This article would obviously show that the *'Awarif-ul-Ma'arif* is perhaps the most popular book on sufism whose popularity may well be judged by its various Persian translations started soon after the death of its author. The article also aims at removing the confusion caused by some statements of Prof. Humai about the earliest Persian translation of the said *'Awarif*.

Notes

1. C.F. the *Shiraz Nama*, p. 132.
   و کتاب عوارف که از منشات حضرت مبارك اوست باجازت درس و افادت ان باخدمتش روانه گردانید۔
2. 'Abdur Rahman's grandson Junaid's statement that his grandfather's translation was the best of all, clearly proves that during this period other translations including perhaps Khatib's were available.
3. For its reading see the *Shaddul Izair*, p. 339 n. 6.
4. This name is mentioned by Junaid in his translation and by Fasihi in his *Mujmal* under years 678 A.H. and 714 A.H.
5. See the *Shiraz Nama*, pp. 131-132, *Shaddul Izar*, pp. 334-338, *Nafahat*, pp. 473-74.
6. For his life see the *Shaddul Izar*, pp. 292-293 No. 210 and *Shiraz-Nama*, p. 154.
7. According to the *Shiraz Nama*, p. 132 he was born in 594 A.H.
8. This is mentioned in the *Shaddul Izar* and *Nafahat* but not in the *Shiraz*

Nama.

9. This is also mentioned in the 1st two books only.
10. That is Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad b. Khafif (d. 371). For his life see the *Shaddul Izar*, pp. 38-46, No. 1.
11. For his life see the *Nafahat*, pp. 477-78.
12. See pp. 475, 477, 479.
13. The *Nafabat*, p. 474.
14. The *Shaddul Izar*, p. 337 and *Nafahat*, p. 474. In the *Shiraz Nama*, p. 474. In the *Shiraz Nama*, p. 132 the month is not given.
15. p. 337.
16. For his life see the *Shiraz Nama*, pp. 121-122, *Shaddul Izar*, pp. 400-401, *Nafahat*, p. 481.
17. The information has been obtained from the *Nafahat*.
18. See the *Shiraz Nama*, p. 122 and *Shaddul Izar*, p. 402.
19. See the *Nafahat*, p. 480.
20. *Nafahat*, pp. 481-82.
21. It is not a translation but an independent work based on the *'Awarif*.
22. pp. 483-87.
23. p. 338.
24. p. 474.
25. This is not mentioned in the *Shiraz Nama* though its author was 'Abdur Rahman's pupil.
26. This is mentioned by the *Shaddul Izar*, p. 338 and *Nafahat*, p. 475 but not in the *Shiraz Nama*. Junaid b. Fazlullah has also stated in his translation *(See Cat. of Persian Mss. in the University of Cambridge*, pp. 87-89).
27. Vol. III, 23.

    (ذیل سنة رابع عشره و سبعمائة) وفات شیخ ظهیرالدین عبدالرحمن بن الشیخ الجلیل نجیب الدین علی بن بزغش بن عبد الله فی خامس عشرین رمضان المبارک۔

28. pp. 317-318.
29. This title is mentioned by the author of the *Shaddul Izar* but in the *Shiraz Nama* on the title his *kunniya* appears as Abul 'Abbas (Mu'inud-Din missing).
30. It has been printed in Tehran in 1350 A.H.
31. *See Shiraz Nama*, p. 144.

    این ضعیف بعضی از کتاب عوارف در تاریخ سنه اربع عشر و سبعمائة در حضرتش خوانده دستخط مبارک او اجازه حاصل کرده۔

32. This date may not be quite correct for in an old Ms. of the *Shiraz Nama*, the date fo the Shaikh's death in 714 A.H. instead of 724 A.H. is quoted in the printed copy. As 714 A.H. seems to be the correct date obviously Abul Khair had studied from him earlier than this date.
33. See *Shaddul Izar*, pp. 339-341.
34. His full name was Jibrill b. 'Umar b. Yusuf al Kurdi died 723 A.H. For his brief life see *Muntakhabul Mukhtar* by Taqiud-Din Qasi, Baghdad ed., p. 47 and *Shaddul Izar*, p. 111 n. 3 and p. 340 n.2.
35. pp. 340-41.
36. He was one of the scholars and saints of Syria of the Qadiriya order born in 648 A.H. and died in 740 A.H. in Damascus. For his life see the *Durarul Kamina* 1 : 20, *Shazratul Zahab* 6 : 124-125 and *Shaddul Izar*, p. 340 n. 3.

37. He was born in 694 A.H. at Damascus and died on the 3rd Muharram 761 A.H. at Jerusalem. A number of his works are mentioned in the *Tabaqat-ul-Huffaz by* Abul Muhanis Husaini, pp. 43-47, and by Siwati, pp. 360-361, *Tabaqat-i-Subki* Vol. VI, pp. 104-105, *Durarul Kamina* V. 2, pp. 90-92 and *Shazratuz Zahab* V. 6, pp. 190-191, and see also *Shaddul zar*, p. 340 n. 4.
38. He was born in 666 A.H. and died at Jerusalem in Ramazan 748 A.H. (see the *Durarul Kamina* V. 3, pp. 30-31 and the *Shazratuz Zahab* V. 6, p. 153.
39. She was called Bintul Kamal and was a 'renowned female Muhaddisa, born in 740 A.H. See the *Durarul Kamina* V. 2, pp. 117-118 and *Shazratuz Zahab* V. 6, p. 126.
40. p. 341.
41. He ws the patron of Hafiz who died in 786 A.H.
42. *Shaddul Izar*, p. 341. The author of the *Shaddul Izar* has not exclusively given Shaikh Junaid's relation with Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman except mentioning his name in the title thus:

    الشیخ صدرالدین جنید بن فضل لله بن عبدالرحمن

    But Mirza Muhammad Qazwini has concluded that 'Abdur Rahman, the grand-father of Sadrud-Din-Junaid is identical with 'Abdur Rahman b. 'Ali Buzghush *(Shaddul Izar*, p. 339 n. 6). It may be noted that in his translation of the *'Awarif*, Junaid has referred to his grandfather, viz. 'Abdur Rhaman's Persian translation of the same book. As Mirza Muhammad Qazwini had not come across any manuscript of Junaid's translation, he could not make use of this book while mentioning the relation between Shaikh Junaid and Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman, though his conclusion based on other sources is quite correct.
43. According to the *Shaddul Izar* they were buried in the vicinity of Jami' 'Atiq (see pp. 287, 339, 341), but according to the *Shiraz Nama*, p. 132, Najibud-Din 'Ali b. Buzghush was buried near Bagh-i-Qutlugh.
44. Aligarh Ms. f. 75b.
45. The *'Awarif-ul-Ma'arif*, printed, pp, 99-100. It is to be noted that the translation generally lacks the flow of the original.
46. The word is invariably written with دال .

THE DASTURU'L-AFAZIL

The *Dasturu'l-Afazil fi Lughat il Fazail* popularly known by its shorter title *Dasturu'l-Afazil* is one of the oldest lexicons written in India in the reign of Muhammad b. Tughlaq in 743 A.H., the date being quoted in a *Qita'* towards the close of the book.

Its author was Rafi' who was known as Hajib-i-Khairat.[1] He was a resident of Delhi but he had to leave his home due to some untold[2] misery which had exerted its influence so deeply that even after a lapse of considerable time he calls himself 'واقعه زده' (being subjected to misfortune).

We have nothing to add to the meagre information supplied by the author about his life in the comparatively longer intruduction of the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* itself. We learn that he left Delhi in a miserable state of affairs and went from place to place till he reached the town *Bir*,[3] where he stayed for a few days. In the meanwhile one Shamsud-Din Muhammad Jajneri, the Sadr happened to visit the town. The Sadr was a liberal patron of scholars, so the author had naturally great hopes in him. He succeeded in getting an audience with the Sadr and had favourably impressed him. The latter invited Hajib-i-Khairat to accompany him to his capital at Ustadabad and the author willingly accepting the offer started for the court of Shamsud-Din Muhammad. On his arrival at Ustadabad, the author was admitted to the court of the Sadr where a number of scholars were being generously patronised. Within a short time Hajib-i-Khairat became intimate with the Sadr who complained one day about the lack of lexicographical material resulting in poor understanding on the part of average scholars. The author at once mentioned the *Farhangnama*[4] of the most reputed scholar and poet Fakhrud-Din Mubarakshah[5] Ghaznawi alias Kamangar who was eulogised by Shihabud-Din Jauhari in the following line:

فخردین کان کرم گنج هنر دریای فضل
ای زطبعت یك سخن سرمایهٔ صد جوهری

The Sadr added that the *Farhangnama* is not so exhaustive[6] as to fully meet the requirements of average readers. This prompted Hajib-i-Khairat to undertake the task of compiling the present

lexicon which was completed in 743 A.H.

Hajib-i-Khairat was a writer who seems to have written treatises on the *Munsha'at-i*-Ruknud-Din Nawi and Watwat's[7] *Hadaiqus-Sihr*. But on the occasion of the compilation of the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* his studies were lost and whatever he had remembered of them served as an aid to the completion of the present work.

Rafi' was a poet and some of his verses are preserved in the introduction of the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* of which the *qita'* composed for Rashidud'Din Watwat deserves mention:

استاد سخنوران عالم   فرزانه رشید دین و طواط
شیدا ز فضایلت ارسطو   دیوانهٔ لفظ تست بقراط
در پیش تو شاعران عالم   چون پیش خلیفه خلق اوساط
شد کاتب جرخ در خط از تو   شاگرد صفت به پیش خطاط[8]
روی فضلا ز رشك تو زرد   چون عورت حامله ز اسقاط
در جمله گوشها رسیده   نظم سخنت چو دُر در افراط
هر چند مدایحت نویسد   از طبع رفیع نبود افراط (!)

This is all that we know about the author. As there is apparently no other source to supplement it, we proceed to the consideration of the lexicon vis-a-vis his contribution to Persian lexicography.

The Compilation: As referred to above the reason for compiling the *Dasturu'l- Afazil* was in response to the wish of the author's patron Shamsud-Din Muhammad Jajneri who wanted a popular and exhaustive lexicon to meet the requirement of average readers. The author seems to have risen to the occasion by presenting a lexicon more comprehensive than the much reputed *Farhangnama*. But the claim of the author may partially be true in this respect that he has included Arabic words as well, in a sharp contrast with the pure Persian lexicons included in the *Farhang-nama-i-Qawwas*. But in all other respects it is definitely inferior to the latter work.

The Patron: We have already referred to the auhor's patron on whose suggestion the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* was commenced. But except what has been given about the patron in the introduction of this lexicon, he is othervise unknown. His name was Shamsud-Din Muhammad Jajneri[9] who was the Sadr of a territory with its capital at Ustadabad. The location of this ancient city is unknown but it

was in the vicinity of the town Bir which was within the territory of the above Sadr. This latter town seems to be identical with the one situated in the present district Nimar in M.P. at a distance of 33 kilometers from Khandwa towards Itarsi on the Bombay Itarsi Railway line. But we do not know whether the Sadr was quite independent or owed his allegiance to the Delhi Saltanat or to someone else. However he belonged to a noble family about which we know nothing. His father was Ahmad and his grandfather 'Ali. Hajib-i-Khairat has spoken very highly of his attainments in a lengthy prose passage[10] as well as in the short *qita* composed for the occasion which is quoted below:

گوهر پاك احمد بن علی   صدر آفاق شمس دولت و دین
نثر طبعت همه در منثور   نظم الفاظ تست در ثمین
همه اشعار تو پر آب زلال   همه ابیات تست ماء معین
گل ز بوی تو عطر خواهنده   نافه در پیش خلق تو مسکین
زینت عالم از در و گهر است   یافت در و گهر ز تو تزئین
ماه نو از کمیت تازی تو   یافته نعل هر مهی زرّین
رشك در های لفظ تو هر سال   در پس پرده می شود پروین
سعد شد مشتری هم از نظرت   گه گه از لطف سوی ماهم بین
مدح ذات تو که تواند کرد   گر شود جمع آسمان و زمین
تیر گردون مسخر قلمت   باد دایم ز فضل حق آمین

These lines evidently show that the Sadr was himself a poet as well as a writer much interested in Persian classics.

The title of the book: Two titles of the lexicon are given in the book itself. In the introduction it is *Dasturu'l-Afazil Fi Lughat il-Fazail*[11] while in the concluding poem the title appears as *Dasturu-i-Afazil* with the Persian "*Izafat*" two times. As the terms *Dasturu'l-Afazil* and *Dasturu-i-Afazil* agree in rhyme and metre the possibility of clerical error in respect of them cannot be ruled out, for the only Ms. available in the Bengal Asiatic Society library is full of clerical mistakes. In deference to the subsequent lexicographers who have invariably given its title *Dasturu'l-Afazil* with the Arabic "*Izafat*," pending any additional information on this subject, we would prefer to call it *Dasturu'l-Afazil*.

The Date of its compilation: As referred to above the date of the completion of the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* is recorded in the following *qita'* appearing towards the conclusion of the book:

چو دستور افاضل شد مرتب   مرا واجب دعا آمد دل شب
خداوندا بحق نیك مردان   بچشم مردمان مقبول گردان
چنانش مر بلندی ده بعالم   که گردد با بنات النعش همدم
سر افرازی کند با ماه و پروین   بر ندش نسخه، سوی مصر و غزنین
سوادش را بود بر دیها جا   بیاضش چون بیاض صبح پیدا
کسی کاین [2] عین نسخه باز جوید   دعای [3] حاجب خیرات گوید
زهجرت بود هفصد باسه و چل [4]   مرتب گشته دستور افاضل
بیا مرز از کرم گوینده اش را   بکن مغفور مر جوینده اش را

The Sources of the book: The author derived material for his lexicon from the various prose and poetical compositions of the earlier masters. He has perhaps no lexicons to consult except the *Farhangnama* which he has used copiously. The poets whose writings the author made use of are mentioned in the introduction to the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* in the following order:

Zahir Faryabi, Mujir Bailqani, Jamalud-Din and his son Kamalud-Din Isfahani, Anwari and Sana'i, Ruhani, Nizami, Sharafud-Din Shafrawa, Musharrafud-din Sa'di, Humam Tabrizi, Saif Isfrangi, Nasir-i-Khusrau, Imam Nasir, Khaqani along with a number of Indian and Khurasanian poets and writers (names not mentioned). The concluding remark giving the nature of the book is as follows:

دیگر از منشآت شعرای هندوستان و خراسان که اگر اسامی هر یك در این مختصر آمدی دیباچه بتطویل کشیدی، بقدر وسع و امکان مطالعه کرد و لغات تازی و ترکی و مغلی و بهلوی و پارسی و افغانی و جهودی و ترسائی و نصرانی و زبان مغان و سریانی و فلاسفه و تاجیك و عبرانی و زبان رازیان و حجازیان و ولایت ماوراء النهر و اصطلاح شعرای هر شهر و مصنوعات افاضل و مستعملات اماثل، از متون و دواوین نظم و کتب نثر بیرون آوردم، و ترتیب حروف تهجی نهاد۔ و این کتاب را دستور الافاضل فی لغات الفضایل نام نهاد تا فضلای آخرالزمان و شعرای جاری اللسان را دستوری الخ۔

In the above remark the author seems to be very liberal in giving the names of various languages and classes of peoples whose languages he employed in the present lexicon. To me so many words seem to be redundant. He mentions بهلوی and زبان مغان but I am not in a position to make any difference between the two. Similarly لغات ترسائی and لغات نصرانی are the same. The language of the Jews being Hebrew, I do not see any reason to

mention the لغات عبرانی over and above لغات جهودی . Similarly لغات تازی and زبان حجازیان make no difference at all and hence there was no occasion for mentioning both of them, unless we suppose that حجازیان is a corrupt form of حجاران meaning stonemasons and in which case the word رازیان should certainly be a wrong substitute for رازان meaning wall-plasterers.

***The arrangement and composition of the book*:** The *Dasturu'l-Afazil* is arranged in a loose alphabetical order each letter forming a chapter called *bab*. But the words employed under each chapter are not arranged strictly in an alphabetical order. As the lexicon contains Arabic words as well, the chapters on ظ، ط، ض، ص، ث، ح، ذ and ع are available in the book. But such chapters are naturally shorter. The words have diacritical signs but not in a very systematic and dependable manner. The correct pronunciation of the words has not been recorded in words, which seems to be a later addition.

***The characteristics of the book* :** The importance of the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* lies in its being the fourth oldest available book on Persian lexicography. This lexicon supplies useful material for the study of the problem of *Tashif* in Persian which resulted in increasing th number of corrupt Persian words through the later lexicons. The *Dasturu'l-Afazil* is again the oldest available source-book of a number of words not included in the three earlier lexicons, namely the *Lughat-i-Furs*, the *Farhangnama* and the *Sihah-ul-Furs*. Some of these words in their own turn have undergone change because of their wrong decipherment which is mostly due to the various defects of our writing system. The present lexicon may be usefully employed in such a study. Some examples are examined below:

شبان و فریوك which has also been read as شبان فریبك، شبان فریو، شبان فریوك and شبان فریب in various subsequent lexicons, is a collection of two words شبان and فریوك or فرنوك . Both of these have been dealt with separately in the *Bahrul-Fazail* (meaning شب پرك = Owl), whereas only the first *i.e.* شبان is mentioned in various early lexicons including the *Dasturu'l-Afazil*, *Adatul Fuzala* and *Sharafnama* and the second word *i.e.* فریوك. is missing. I regard فریوك as a *Tashif* of فرنوك on the ground that the word فریوك is not available separately in the lexicons while the word فرنوك is included in the *Bahrul-*

Fazail. Qawwas's using the words (صح فرنوك) شبان و فریوك as synonyms suggests that the second word must have a separate entity which exists probably in the form of فرنوك.

The word انگدان has been used in the sense of بسباس in the *Farhangnama*, the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* and other early lexicons. But in the later lexicons such as *Sururi, Jahangiri, Burhan, Anandraj* and others it is نسناس . Some of the later writers such as 'Abd al-Rashid and Hidayat could not reject it for want of definite authority. The early lexicons including the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* have settled the matter once for all.

·The *Dasturu'l-Afazil* supports the *Farhangnama* in respect of two words دژخی meaning گرفته روی and پیخست meaning بندی . These two separate meanings namely گرفته روی and بندی were combined together as early as the first quarter of the 9th century in the *Zufan-i-Guya* under the word دژخی , and this mistake went undetected till the present day. The author of the *Farhang-i-Jahangiri* deleted the term گرفته روی and used the word دژخی in the sense of بندیان (probably it was borrowed from the above *Zufan-i-Guya*). The basis of the mistake was that both the words دژخی and پیخست with their meanings occur in the *Farhangnama* successively. The Ms. of this lexicon consulted by the author of the *Zufan-i-Guya* was defective at this stage in so much as the word پیخست was missing with the obvious result that the meaning of this word was taken to be the second meaning of the word دژخی .

From these and similar illustrations we can well understand the part to be played by the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* in correcting the mistakes of the subsequent lexicons arising out of some of the difficult points in our system of writing.

2. As seen earlier the author of the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* had perhaps no access to any of the earlier lexicons except the *Farhangnama* which had been mentioned three times in the introduction to the *Dasturu'l-Afazil*. It would be better to quote a few examples which would show Hajib-i-Khairat's indebtedness to the author of the *Farhangnama* :

Dasturul-Afazil		*Farhangnama*	
ایدر	: سرشك آتش	ایدر	: سرشك آتش
اژیر	: زیرك و هوشیار	اژیر	: زیرك و هوشیار
انوشه	: پادشاه نو و جوان	انوشه	: پادشاه نو و جوان

اژیر	: گل درمیان دو خشت	اژیر	: گل درمیان دو خشت
دلنگ	: آنچه از شاخ که خرما بر و باشد	دلنگ	: آنچه شاخ خرما درو باشد
بزغه	: آنچه شاخ بر و افگنند	بزغه	: آنچه از شاخ بر افگنند
بلبله	: یعنی کوزۂ بانول	بلبله	: کوزۂ بانول و اندوه و صراحی
ساو و باژ	: چیز یکه از زیر دستی زیردستی زیردستی قبول کند و بدهد	ساو	: چیزی که زیر دستی از قبول کند
بیناسك	: دریچه	بیناسك	: دریچه
بکهوجتان	: خرپشته	بکهوجتان	: خرپشته
شمشار	: درختی است سخت چوب میان بالا	شمشار	: درختی است سخت چوب میان بالا
فج-غرم	: گوسپندی که کودکان بر وی بروی سواری آموزند	غرم	: گوسپندی که کودکان بر سواری آموزند
هوشازده	: بغایت تشنه باشد	هوشازده	: بغایت تشنه
گردنگل	: بی اندام و ابله و زبون	گردنگل	: بی اندام و ابله و زبون
نهاز	: گوسپندی که پیشرو گله باشد	نهاز	: گوسپندی پیشرو رمه باشد

The *Dasturu'l-Afazil* has بفج with "ya" in close imitation of a corrupt Ms. of the *Farhangnama*. Hajib-i-Khairat had no access to the earlier lexicons such as the *Lughat-i-Furs* and the *Sihah* with the obvious result that he could not be aware of the correct form of the word which was with "ba" in the *Furs* and the *Sihah*.

The indebtedness of Hajib-i-Khairat to Qawwas will be fully borne out by another word ورخج meaning همجو فزه زشت . This meaning has been borrowed from the *Farhangnama* in which the same meaning زشت was assigned to the preceding word فزه . So Qawwas was perfectly justified to add the words همجوفزه (like فزه) before زشت . But the same addition on the part of the author of *Dasturu'l-Afazil* to the word زشت is unjustifiable because in it the two words ورخج and فزه (if dealt with at all)[15] must have been mentioned under two different letters. Hence the reference to فزه with regard to the meaning of ورخج is quite superfluous.

Another proof of Hajib-i-Khairat's indebtedness to the *Farhangnama* is that he has included the whole of the short preface to the

latter work in his introduction to the *Dasturu'l Afazil* but with acknowledgemet.

3. The *Dasturu'l-Afazil* had been a source of information for the subsequent lexicographers. The earliest mention of the work is in the *Sharh-i-Makhzanul Asrar* (about 795 A.H.) by the eminent scholar and lexicographer Muhammad b. Qawam b. Rustam. Then comes the *Adatul-Fuzala* (822 A.H.) and the *Zufan-i-Guya* (before 837) and both of them have exhaustively borrowed from it. Muhammad b. Qawam again employed this lexicon in his *Bahrul Fazail* (837 A.H.). Likewise it was used as a source-book in the *Sharafnama* (before 878 A.H.), *Tuhfatus Sa'ada* (916 A.H.), *Muaiyidul Fuzala, Madarul-Afazil* (1001 A.H.) and *Farhang-i-Jahangiri* (1017 A.H.). After this we do not hear about the *Dasturu'l-Afazil.*

4. The *Dastur* was also utilised by the author of the *Qunia* in which occasionally wrong interpretations have been given which resulted in creating difficult problems of textual correction. In the present Ms. of the *Dasturu'l-Afazi l* we find the word آونگ meaning میوۂ آویخته . But the *Muaiyid*[16] informs us of the wrong interpreta- tion found in the *Qunia* :

اوتل : میوۂ آویخته کذا فی القنیه من الدستور۔ اقول شاید این تصحیف کاتب است زیراچه در ادات لغات دستور همه مسطور است و در ادات این مذ کور نیست ..... در نسخۂ دستور که نزد کاتب است در این معنی آوانگ بدوالف و میانه واو و بعد الف دوم نون آورده است و هر دو الف را بمدات فتح کرده۔

Though the reading of our Ms. differs from the one consulted by the author of the *Muaiyid* in so much as our Ms. has آونگ and not آوانگ the error in the *Qunia* is quite obvious. The *Bahrul-Fazail* and some other lexicons retain the meaning given in the *Dasturu'l-Afazil.* But the wrong reading of the *Qunia* did not find favour with any except a brief mention in the *Muaiyidul-Fuzala.*

Another example is of انوشه which was the name of Shapur's aunt. But the *Qunia* had اتوشه as is proved by the following remark available in the *Muaiyid* :[17]

و در دستور مسطور انوشه نام عورتی الخ ..... و در قنیه بدین معنی اتوشه آورده بتای قرشت۔

But the reading of the word as given in the *Qunia* is incorrect because the *Bahrul-Fazail* and other lexicons support the *Dastur.* Likewise some of the statements of the *Muaiyidul-Fuzala* based on the *Dastur* need correction as they are not quite accurate. For

example there is a word آژنگ which in the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* has been dealt with two times. At one place it means 'شکنج روی' (wrinkles on face) and at the other 'بژ'. But the author of the *Muaiyid*[18] could find only the second meaning about which he remarks:

و در دستور معنی آن (آژنگ) بژ بزای معجمه مذکور است۔ اقول آن بر است براء مہملہ و این از خطای کاتب است۔

In our Ms. the incorrect meaning بز is given but not with زای فارسی as stated in the *Muaiyid*. However we quite agree with the *Muaiyid* that it should be بر and not بژ . This view is fully shared by the *Bahrul-Fazail.*

The *Muaiyid* has[19] incorrectly quoted the Dasturu'l-Afazil as follows:

افسانه حکایتهای گذشتگان الخ ...... و خوانندهٔ افسون کذا فی الدستور

The word افسانه has not been included in the *Dastur* which has افسون پژوه in the sense of خوانندهٔ افسون . This is fully supported by the *Bahrul-Fazail* but in the *Farhang-i-Nizam* we come across افسون ساز، افسون گر، افسون پرداز , and افسون خوان and not افسون پژوه .

Another word is ارتنگ about which the author of the *Muaiyid*[20] gives the following information:

ارتنگ و فی الادات نگار خانه و نام کتاب مانی نقاش در صورتگری، و در دستور بمعنی اخیر مسطور است یعنی نقاش و در ز فان گویا گفته است قبل چادری که درو همه نقشها بود۔

Without commenting on the above remark I shall quote the actual words available in the *Dasturu'l-Afazil*:

ارتنگ نقاش و نقش چادری که مانی نقاش نقشهای همه عالم درو نگاشته بود۔

Oviously the *Muaiyid* has given incomplete meaning with reference to the *Dastur*. What he has attributed to the *Zufan-i-Guya* is also found in the *Dastur* and as the latter is an earlier work, it is reasonably concluded that the former has borrowed it from the *Dasturu'l-Afazil.*

The word ازدب has been explained in the *Muaiyid*[21] and the *Madar*[22] as follows:

ازدب بالفتح مگیر و مکش هکذا فی الادات، و فی الدستور مگیر فی نسخة منه یعنی مکش۔ بدانکه در این لغت کاتب را شبه است که فارسی است یا ترکی، غالب آنست ترکی است (موید)۔

ازدب مگیر و مکش در سکندری بوزن ابتر، در ابراهیمی داخل ترکی آورده (مدار)۔

But the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* has given quite a different meaning: ازدب مکسی یعنی مگس . The statement is correct and both the *Muaiyid* and *Madar* are mistaken in view of the following:

1. The *Muaiyid* has also referred to the *Dastur* for the same meaning. As our Ms. states quite differently, we have reasons to believe that all the subsequent lexicographers have been misled to read the word مکسی as مگیر and مکس as مکش .

2. The two words مگیر و مکش used as meaning of ازدب are examples of فعل نہی in Persian. But the actual word ازدب is not a verb, consequently its meaning would also not be a verb. This lends supports to the conclusion that مگیر and مکش are the corrupt forms of مکسی and مگس .

These illustrations adequately prove that the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* may usefully be employed to correct some of the statements of the later lexicographers which are otherwise liable to create confusion.

5. The *Dasturu'l-Afazil* in some cases gives exhaustive meanings of words which meanings are not available in older[23] lexicons. Here are a few instances of such words:

ارغنون : ساز و آواز هفتاد دختر که بیکبار بر کشند
سوك : مژه و روی و پیری حمار و گریستن برای مرده و جحیز داشتن جامه
ارتنگ : نقاش و نقش جادری که مانی نقاش نقشهای همه عالم درو نگاشته بود
نخچیر : شکار و بز کوهی
شمن : بت و بت پرست

Of these the word شمن is of particular interest to us. Its meaning as given in the *Lughat-i-Furs, Farhangnama, Sihah, Mi'yar-i-Jamali, Jahangiri, Rashidi* and others is "idol-worshippper" and not "idol" as is available in the *Dastur*, and this meaning has been illustrated with a number of lines as:

بت پرستی گرفته ایم همه   این جهان چون بت است و ما شمنیم
(رود کی)

همیشه خرم و آباد باد ترکستان   که قبلهٔ شمنانست و جایگاه بتان
(بہرامی)

اگر فلك صنم خویش کرد بخت ترا   که پیش او بعبادت خمیده چون شمن است
(معزی)

The *Dasturu'l-Afazil* has been supported by the *Bahrul-Fazail* where the word is stated to mean both "idol" and 'idol- worship-

per'. The *Muaiyidul-Fuzala*[24] also lends its support to the *Dastur* in the following words:

شمنیان جمع شمنی است که منسوب است بسوی شمن که معنی آن بت است، شمنی بت پرست، شمنیان بت پرستان۔

Among the modern writers the authors of فرهنگ نفیسی and آنند راج also support this group of writers. Nasiri gives the same meaning but the verses illustrate the meaning of بت پرست and not of بت. But the author of the *Rashidi* in his *Mu'arrabat*[25] states:

صنم معرب شمن کذا فی القاموس و این غلطست چه شمن بت پرست نه بت و معرب بودن صنم بر محک۔

From the above details it is concluded that most of the lexicographers, particulrly the oldest ones state شمن to mean بت پرست. Etymologically this meaning seems to be correct for this word is obtained from the Pali word 'Shaman' which in its own turn is derived from the Sanskrit 'Shramana'[26] meaning "worshipper." But it is authentically stated that the Arabic word صنم is borrowed[27] from شمن the most convincing argument in its favour being its other form *i.e.* صمنه.[28] But the change of its meaning from 'idol-worshipper' to 'idol' no doubt creates suspicion which becomes more serious when one is assured of the fact that the word شمن was obtained from Pali and Sanskrit and not from Pre-Islamic languages of Iran. We know for certain that the word " شمن " if really borrowed from 'صنم' was borrowed much before the Islamic language of Iran came into being, for the word صنم was in use even in the pre-Islamic Arabia. Under these circumstances it becomes almost certain that the word شمن must have its root in Pahlavi, Old Persian or Avesta for unless we suppose that the word was in existence in pre-Islamic Iran, it is unthinkable to have its modifie form *i.e.* صنم in Arabic before the advent of Islam. Now again coming to the meaning of the word شمن it seems to me that originally it meant 'idol-worshipper' alone and its other meaning was borrowed from صنم which means 'idol' and nothing more. The *Dasturu'l-Afazil* is the earliest lexicon in which the word شمن is stated to mean 'idol' which menaing was also adopted by the well known scholar Muhammad b. Qawam in his *Bahrul-Fazail.*

6. In the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* we come across a few Hindustani equivalents used for elucidation of meanings.[29] As stated earlier these

Hindustani equivalents may be useful in the linguistical study of the idigenous words available in Persian works. This is the list of such words:

انگدان : بسباس یعنی جابتری

دغل : جیتل قلب

ازدب : مکھی یعنی مگس

ام غیلان : ککر

بکوك : جهجه (borrowed from the *Farhangnama*)

خرجکوك : هندوی بتهل خوانند (borrowed from the *Farhangnama*)

کوم : گیاهی است مثل کهیل (borrowed from the *Farhangnama*)

هدل : گیاه تلخ عرف ککرونده

حسك : گوکهرو

بلادر : بهلاوه و [30] زرینه
که عروس بسربندند

This has been explained in the *Muaiyid* as follows:

بلادر نام درختی است مشهور که هندش بهلانوان خوانند ...... و زرینه الخ

سماروغ : گیاهی است که منسوب است بچهترمار بزبان عام

زنجبیل : سندهی

7. Some of the Persian months have been explained in terms of Arabic months:

آبان : ماه شعبان پارسیان

As both are the 8th months of their respective calendar آبان has been termed as ماه شعبان .

اردی بهشت : ماه صفر

Both of them are the second months in their respective calendars.

آذر : ماه رمضان

Both Azar and Ramazan are the 7th months in the Persian and Muslim calendars respectively.

8. In the *Dastur* the Arabicised forms of Persian words have been preferred. This is why words like طارم، طبرزد، طراوت، طوطی، طبش، طیرگی، طیش، طبیره and طنبور have been quoted under the letter 'ط' and not under 'ت'.

The *Dasturu'l-Afazil* has certain weak points which are to be examined in the following pages:

1. There is no systematic plan for the selection of words which were to be included in the present lexicon. The author has not given the basis and justification for including a number of uncommon proper and geographical names. A list of such names is given below:

ارنواز : The name of Zahhak's wife.[31]
ابجل : The name of the King of Jabalsa[32].
باقل : One of the Caliph's name who was dumb[33]
باليوس : The name of the territory of Qandahar.[34]
پلنگر : The name of an Abyssinian King.[35]
برتاس : The name of a territory in Turkistan.[36]
برطاس : The name of a wrrior.[37]
تابوس : The name of Qaisar's daughter.[38]
تلاس : A city in Turkish territory.[39]
تنزيل : The name of the Prophet.
خزاعه : The name of an ancient King who had come to Mecca.[40]
خراد : A king proverbial for his wisdom.[41]
بايسك : The name of a man.[42]
ربام : The name of the inventor of mirror.
قطيفه : The name of a place.[43]
قنطال : The name of a King.[44]
كركى : The name of a warrior and of a territory.
كهرم : The name of Arjasp's mother.

Most of these names no doubt find mention in Persian lexicons but the same objection is liable to be levelled against them as well.

2. Hajib-i-Khairat's explanations about some of the proper and geographical names show the lack of historical knowledge on his part. Some of these names are examined below:

زرتشت : استاد آتش پرست. It is quite strange that such an important Prophet of pre-Islamic Iran is not so fully known to our author.

اردشير : پسر بهمن نبيسهٔ اسفنديار . Ardshir was the son of Sasan and the grandson of Bahman and the great grandson of Isfandyar.

اردوان : پادشاه فارس از آل گرشاسپ . Ardawan belonged to the house of

Gushtasp. Garshaps is a clear mistake, it may be due to the scribe's carelessness.
ذبیح اللّٰه is stated to be the title of Hazrat Ishaq, whereas it was that of Hazrat Isma'il the son of Hazrat Ibrahim.
ملك نیمروز : بربر . Barbar is in Africa whereas Nimruz is the other name of Sistan.[45]
نام ولایتی که سکندر بنیاد نهاد : مقدونیه . The city of Macedonia existed much before Alexander's time. It was the capital of Alexander's father Phillip.
نام حضرت رسالت : ظاهر . Zahir is a divine epithet, hence its meaning would be[46] ظاهر نام حضرت عزت.
3. The author could not detect some of the clerical mistakes occurring in the *Farhangnama*. For example the word يفج with 'Ya' in the *Farhangnama* is due to the carelessness of the scribe for in none of its source-books the word is spelt as such and so there is no reason why Qawwas differed from his source. The Ms of the *Farhangnama* consulted by the author of the *Dastur*, like the present one, had no doubt يفج but this could have been corrected as بفج by a proper scrutiny. The result of Hajib-i-Khairat's incorrect interpretation was that this corrupt form found access both in the older[47] as well as in the later lexicons.

The misunderstanding of the author cannot be justified because the word يفج has been examined under the letter 'Ya' whereas its first letter should be *'Ba'*.

The author of the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* was confused about the words 'کانا' and 'کاناز' and has treated them as synonyms. In the *Farhang-i-Qawwas* and the *Bahrul-Fazai'* the word 'کانا' is stated to mean چوب بن خوشهٔ خرما , while in the former it is illustrated with the following line from Rudaki:

من بدان آمدم بخدمت تو   تا براید رطب ز کانا ام

Both these lexicons have avoided the other word 'کاناز'. But in the *Lughat-i-Furs* p. 169, *Sihahul-Furs* p. 130, *Jahangiri* p. 197, *Sururi* p. 1058 and *Rashidi* p. 1087, Rudaki's above line illustrates the word کاناز and not کانا . This clears the obvious misunderstanding on the part of the authors of the *Farhang-i-Qawwas* and the *Bahrul-Fazail*. From this it follows that the correct word is کاناز and that the word کانا is a corrupt form. In the earlier and later lexicons such as *Adatul- Fuzala*, *Muaiyidul-Fuzala* and *Burhan-i-Qati'* both the

words 'کاناز' as well as its corrupt form 'کانا' were included without comment. But in the *Sururi* the following observation is made:

کانا در نسخهٔ میرزا بمعنی چوب بن خرما و انگور باشد و گویا در این معنی مصحف کا ناز است۔

The *Dastur* is the earliest book to include both the words کاناز and کانا, although the word کانا quoted by Qawwas on the basis of the corrupt reading of the word in Rudaki's line could have been rejected as superfluous on the ground that Rudaki's line has کاناز and not کانا. Apparently the author of the *Dastur* has no other significant lexicons among his source-book except the *Farhangnama* yet certain it is that he has obtained the word کاناز from some other source, while the word کانا has been directly borrowed from the *Farhangnama.* In short it is through the *Dastur* that the word کانا was taken to be a correct word and was consequently included in subsequent lexicons from the *Adatul-Fuzala* downwards.

4. Some times the author of the *Dastur* gives confused statement both with regard to the reading of the word as well as its meaning. For example he was not clear in his mind about the actual reading of a word which has been mentioned two times, once as سعته meaning کشیده and again as سغبه meaning the same. Similarly he was not quite sure about the meaning of the word سماروغ which has once been explained as گیاهی است که منسوب است بچهترمار بزبان عام and afterwards as رستنی است که تخم ندارد، از جایگاه عفن روید . It is quite obvious that the first meaning does not differ from the second, yet the author being confused, missed the point. Again due to confusion in his mind the author of the *Dastur* could not really understand what the word شجام actually meant. At one place he explains the word as شجام علت میوه است ; while at the second place he states: شجام آفت سرماست که بمیوه رسد . The ambiguity may be cleared by its explanation in the *Farhang-i -Qawwas* and the *Muaiyidul-Fuzala* respectively as follows:

شجام آفت سرما باشد که بمیوه رسد۔ دقیقی گفته است

سپاهی که نو روز گرد آورید

همه نیست کردش بنا گه شجام (قواس)

شجام سرمای سخت و آفت که از سرما برسد و میوه را خشك گرداند۔ (مؤید)

5. The author himself has incorrectly recorded some words used

in the *Farhangnama* correctly. For example in the latter the word جشنه is stated to mean پیمانۀ روغن . The same is found in the *Adatul-Fuzala, Sharafnama, Jahangiri, Sururi, Burhan, Rashidi* and others. But the *Dastur* has وجسه under the letter واو , meaning پیمانۀ دوغ . The clerical error lies in شین having been changed into سین and the final 'h' (ه) into را . The letter واو has been deemed as a part of the word otherwise there was no justification for keeping it under the letter واو . The basis of the misunderstanding is this. In the *Farhangnama* the word جشنه appears along with its synonym تشنه joined with the conjunction واو (تشنه و جشنه) which was taken to be the part of the word by Hajib-i-Khairat in the *Dasturu'l-Afazil.*

Another word is زمو which in the *Farhangnama Adatul-Fuzala, Muaiyidul-Fuzala, Jahangiri, Sururi, Burhan, Rashidi, Nasiri* and others, means گل تر و خشک while in the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* it appears under the letter 'و' in this way: وزتو گل تر و خشک. In this phrase we come across various types of errors. تو is a corrupt form of زمو . گل is which is not the part of the word to be explained. Instead of this as a part of the meaning, it stands as a noun to the adjectives تر and خشک . But there are certain points which lend support to the fact that it is the author's own mistake rather than the error of the scribe. There is another word گرنی which is a synonym of زمو . In the *Dastur* its meaning is تر و خشک and not گل تر و خشک . From this we conclude that the author had missed the point altogether. He had consulted the *Farhang-i-Qawwas* in which زمو and گرنی stood together as synonyms joined with the conjunction (گرنی و 'واو' (زمو meaning گل تر و خشک . The author of the *Dastur* correctly noted the word گرنی. But in the second word he committed serious errors. The واو of conjunction had been regarded as the first letter of the word and گل as the last part of the same word. The first mistake is obvious as the word has been quoted under the letter واو . As for the second mistake, had the author not taken 'گل' for the last part of the word 'زمور' he would have not deleted it from the meaning of the word گرنی which as it stands at present is تر و خشک and not گل تر و خشک . Undoubtedly it is a very sorry state of affairs with a lexicographer like Hajib-i-Khairat. However, the only redeeming feature is that the wrong reading of the *Dasturul-Afazil* did not find favour with the subsequent writers.

Another word is وشولك appearing in the *Dastur* under the letter

واو meaning زردی کشت . In this word the letter شین a wrong substitute for سین is due to clerical mistake. The desired word is وسولك . The واو is forming the first letter and it cannot be challenged, for it is quoted under the chapter 'واو' . But this reading of the word is not traceable in any one of the Persian lexicons available to me. The correct forms are سولك، سيك and سيلك which appear in later lexicons along with other forms such as سيكك، سوكك، سيكل، سوكل and سواك etc. But in no case the letter واو forms the part of the word. The basis of Hajib-i-Khairat's misunderstanding seems to be the *Farhangnama* in which the words سيك and سيلك (not سولك so far as the present Ms. is concerned) appear together joined with the conjunction 'واو' . This واو was taken to be the first letter of the word سولك (most probably the Ms. consulted by the author had سولك and not سيلك as the present one) and accordingly it was quoted under واو , while the other word سيك was properly noticed under the letter سین .

The word انبیر which really means پرکردن has been stated to mean کیش in our Ms. of the *Dastur*. This wrong reading has found favour with some of the lexicographers such as the authors of *Qunia, Jahangiri, Burhan* and *Anandraj*. The wrong word کیش appearing in the *Dastur* would have been easily attributed to the careless hand of the scribe but for its confirmation by the *Muaiyidu'l-Fuzala* on the basis of another Ms. of the *Dastur* which was certainly different from the present one. This word کیش is a wrong substitute for the word آگنش meaning پرکردن which has appeared in some of the lexicons as meaning of the word انبیر . Perhaps the *Farhangnama* was the first work to use the word آگنش as the meaning of the word انبیر , and this was incorrectly read as کیش . The reason is that in the *Farhangnama* the word is quoted under خانها و جایها و جزآن between والاد meaning دار and رزنی و زمو meaning گل تر و خشك . So Qawwas must not have given absurd meanings such as کفش or کیش (the first appearing in the present Ms.). Obviously کفش is a wrong substitute for آگنش which was subsequently read as کیش . We cannot defend the author of the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* for there is nothing to support that he himself has not given the incorrect meaning.

Another word is برغ meaning سیمرنگ آب in the *Dasturu'l-Afazil*

which could have been attributed to clerical error but for its confirmation by another Ms. of the said *Dastur* consulted by the author of the *Muaiyid*. The phrase سیمرنگ آب is a wrong substitute for سمه و رنگ آب. There are two words سمه و رنگ آب and they are synonymous. In the *Farhangnama* the two synonyms appear together which were wrongly copied out in the *Dasturu'l-Afazil*, whereas in the *Adatul-Fuzala, Bahrul-Fazail* and *Sharafnama* the words برغ and سمه have been separately dealt with both meaning رنگ آب . The subsequent writers have given confused explanations of the words برغ and برغمسه .

Another word یغوز meaning گردا گرد دهن is quoted under *"Ya"* in the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* whereas it is a corrupt form of بتغوز which is found in the *Farhangnama* and other lexicons. This word has many other readings such as برفوز، بربوس، بتغوز، بربوز، بدبوز، بتبوز، بوز etc. (even بربوش , see the *Farhang-i-Nizam*) but never with a 'Ya'. The first letter in each case is a 'ba'. We are not in a position to explain as to why the author of the *Dastur* who has himself given the two forms بربوز and بوز in the same meaning, could not correct his obvious error.

Another word is راوش meaning the planet venus, quoted under را and not with a زا . This wrong recording of the word cannot be attributed to a careless scribe for in that case the word would have not been quoted under را . The inclusion of the word راوش in some later lexicons such as *Burhan* and others is another proof that the word was quoted as such in the *Dastur*, and perhaps in some other lexicons.

Another word بهانه meaning بوزنه is quoted in the *Dasturu'l-Afazil*. This is incorrect, the correct word being بهنانه which has been illustrated by the following line in the *Farhangnama* and the *Sihahul Furs* :

اگر ابروش چین آرد سزد چون روی من بیند
که رخسارم پر از چین است چون رخسار بهنانه

The incorrect reading بهانه would have easily been attributed to a clerical mistake, but the same reading was available in Ms. of the said lexicon utilised by Shaikh Lad, the author of the *Muaiyidul Fuzala*.

Another set of words شبهنگ meaning زهر and نخچیرگاو meaning نام نوا appear in the *Dasturu'l-Afazil*. These two are the

corrupt forms of شرنگ and نخجیرگان used in the same sense both in the older and later lexicons. But this mistake cannot be easily attributed to the carelessness of the scribe because for the first we have the testimony of the *Bahrul-Fazail*, while the second has been supported both by the *Bahrul-Fazail* as well as by the *Muaiyidul-Fuzala.*

Another word is روزه explained as گیاهی است که در جامه آویزد in the *Dastur* under the letter را ; whereas the correct word is دوزه (the first letter being دال and not را). The word دوزه meaning گیاهی است که در جامه الخ has been included in the *Lughat-i-Furs, Farhang-i-Qawwas, Sihahul-Furs, Bahrul-Fazail, Muaiyidul-Fuzala* and others and in each of them the first letter of the word is دال and not 'را'. As the author of the *Dastur* could not find access to any lexicon arranged alphabetically he could not correct his mistake.

Another word is واژیر meaning هوشیار کردن لشکر appearing under the letter 'واو' , whereas the correct word is آژیر . The author of the *Dastur* has incorrectly borrowed it from the *Farhang-i-Qawwas* where the word آژیر (not واژیر) has been illustrated with Firdausi's following line: سپه رانگهدار و آژیر باش – همه ساله باتر کش و تیر باش . It is perhaps from this line that the author of the *Dastur* has been mislead to read the wordآژیر as واژیر. In the *Farhang-i- Qawwas* the word آژیر appears two times, first meaning زیرك و هوشیار and next meaning هشیار کردن لشکر , but despite the dif- ference in meaning the line of illustration was the same in both the cases. The author of the *Dastur* copied the two meanings from the *Farhang-i-Qawwas* (without illustration) but at the second place he changed آژیر into واژیر .

Another word is سنج meaning سرین مردم الخ quoted under سین which reading has also been supported by Hajib-i-Khairat's close imitator Muhammad b. Qawam in his *Bahrul-Fazail.* But the correct word is شنج with شین as is found in the *Lughat-i-Furs, Farhang-i-Qawwas, Sihahul-Furs, Mi'yar-i-Jamali, Muaiyidul-Fuzala, Rashidi* and others. The following illustrative line is quoted in the first three lexicons:

پیری و درازی و خشك شنجی   گوئی بگه آگنده لتره غنجی

Since the latter reading is available not only in most of the lexicons, but even in the earliest ones, we have no alternative but to accept it as correct.

Another word is سینا meaning سوراخ کننده quoted under the letter سین. The same reading is found in the *Bahrul-Fazail* with the meaning:

سینا سوراخ کننده و نام ابو علی سینا

This statement *confirms* the reading of the word as "*Sina*" and nothing else. In the *Muaiyidul-Fuzala* and *Burhan* both these meanings, *viz.* سوراخ کننده and ابو علی سینا are assigned to the word. Thus we become certain that the *Dastur* has a number of followers and supporters in his reading of the word as "*Sina*". But it is incorrect. The actual word is سنبا formed as اسم فاعل from the word سنبیدن meaning سوراخ کردن. The other forms from this infinitive are سنبه meaning سنب، آلتی که بدان چیزها را سوراخ کنند meaning سوراخ کن and سنبنده، سوراخ کننده meaning سوراخ کننده. Thus it is obvious that سنبا as given in the *Farhang-i-Qawwas* is the correct form. Dr. Mo'in in the foot note of his edition of the *Burhan* p. 1213 has stated as follows:

"سنبا صفت مشبه از سنبیدن، هویه سنبا بمعنی کتف سوراخ کن،' و پارسیان اورا شاپور هویه سنبا خواندندی'، مجمل التواریخ و القصص"۔

Another word is شوخنده meaning اسپی که در سر آید. This reading is fully confirmed by the *Bahrul-Fazail*. But it is a clear mistake; the actual word is شکوخنده from the infinitive شکوخیدن meaning لغزیدن و بسر در آمدن (see the *Burhan*) which is quoted in the *Farhang-i- Qawwas* (f. 27) and other lexicons. The other word شکر خنده is also a corrupt form of شکوخنده, but it ws used in the Persian lexicons including *Farhang-i-Qawwas*. However, there can be no justification for rejecting شکوخنده in favour of شوخنده . .

Another word is متاسنگ meaning سنگ فلاخن. The same reading is available in the *Bahrul-Fazail* which has borrowed it from the *Dastur*. As the former lexicon is arranged alphabetically it is quite obvious that according to these two lexicons the word is متاسنگ[48]. But in all other lexicons it is مشتاسنگ and not متاسنگ meaning سنگ فلاخن (in most of them). The earlier reference to the word is traceable in the *Farhang-i-Qawwas* which gives its meaning as فلاخن and not سنگ فلاخن. In the *Farhang-i-Jahangiri* and *Rashidi* the word مشتاسنگ has been illustrated by the following line of 'Ali Shatranji:

تیغ بہتر ز طعنۂ دشمن   مشت بہتر ز سنگ مشتاسنگ

This line settles the dispute both with regard to the reading of the word as well as its meaning. The correct word is مشتاسنگ (formed

from the words مشت and سنگ) (See *Farhang-i-Nizam*) and not متاسنگ which would not fit in the line while its meaning is فلاخن and not سنگ فلاخن for the phrase used in the line affirms the futility of the word سنگ فلاخن in سنگ .

In the *Daturu'l-Afazil* the word کرته means اشتر و گیاه دارو while in the *Bahrul- Fazail* its meaning is اشترو گیاه جاروب . As the phrase گیاه جاروب is found in later lexicons as well, we would prefer the reading of the word as given in the *Bahrul-Fazail*. Thus the word دارو as available in the *Dastur* is an error of transcription. But in all other lexicons starting from the *Lughat-i-Furs* downwards the word کرته means اشتر خار (or اشتر خوار) though in some books the second meaning is also available. The first meaning as available in the *Lughat-i-Furs, Farhang-i-Qawwas, Sihahul Furs, Mi'yar Jamali* and others is illustrated by two lines:

راه بردنش ز اقیاسی نیست ورچه اندر میان کرته و خار
از هیونان او یکی فلك است طوبی و سدره ژاژ و کرتهٔ او

The first line quoted in the first two and the 2nd in the last illustrates the meaning which is given in the *Lughat-i-Furs* as such:

گیاهی بود پر خار و درشت

This proves that the meaning اشتر as found in the *Dastur* and *Bahrul-Fazail* is incorrect. As regards the second meaning *i.e.* گیاه جاروب its earliest reference is in the *Dastur* (though in a corrupt form)[49] and this meaning (for which there is no illustration) got into the latter lexicons; while in the *Adatul-Fuzala* both the meanings are clearly assigned to the word as follows:

کرته درختی است خرد، خاردار، گروهی آن را اشترخار گویند و اهل هند جواسه خوانند، و آن گیاه دراز باشد که ازان جاروب سازند و اهل هند آن را بیلی گویند۔

The word 'کاکل' means گلها که میان آب روید. The same meaning is found in the *Bahrul-Fazail*. This affirms that the meaning has not been tampered with. But in the *Farhang-i-Qawwas* and other lexicons it means کاکلها and not گلها and since it is recorded under درنام کشتها و غله ها and not under flowers which have been dealt with under a separate chapter, it is correct to hold that گلها is the correct reading. In the *Adatul-Fuzala*, it is explained thus:

کاکل: آن کلك میان تهی که در آب روید و اهل هند آنرا کانس گویند۔

In short the authors of the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* and *Bahrul-Fazail* have

incorrectly recorded the meaning of کاکل as گلها که میان آب الخ . It should be کاکلها که میان آب روید .

In the *Dastur* the word کالیوه has been explained as: احمق و دیرینه while almost the same meanings have been assigned to this word in the *Bahrul-Fazail* thus: کالیوه احمق و دیرینه و کالفته یعنی آشفته . As the former was one of the basic sources of the latter, it is obvious that these meanings have been borrowed from the same. Thus it is quite clear that the word دیرینه which is found in both the lexicons cannot be taken for a scribe's error. In the *Farhangnama* the word کالیوه means احمق و دیوانه which has been illustrated by the following examples:

کالیوه کرد ما را عشق پری جمالی
چون شدم نیم مست و کالیوه

Both these illustrations as well as the meanings given in all the lexicons[50] clearly indicate that the word دیرینه is a corrupt form of دیوانه and hence it is redundant.

These instances of incorrect readings of words (possibly a few may be due to clerical mistakes at present not to be accounted for) clearly point out the lack of proper attention and insight on the part of the author of the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* in respect of careful sifting of his material and proper scrutiny of the words he has to deal with.

6. As against the system adopted in the *Lughat-i-Furs*, the *Farhang nama-i-Qawwas* and the *Sihahul-Furs, the Dasturu'l-Afazil* is devoid of any poetical illustrations. This rendered the task of determining the correct reading of words included in the *Dastur* more difficult, for as we know the word in a metrical text generally determines its own position in respect of its correct reading. For example the word بهانه as available in the *Dastur* would have easily been corrected if the line of illustration would have been taken into account.

***The Ms. of the Dasturul-Afazil*:**

So far as my knowlege goes only one single Ms. of this old lexicon is available in the Bengal Royal Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, which has been briefly noticed in its catalogue. The Ms. contains 22 folios transcribed in the Naskh style, each page contains 25 lines. The Ms. is undated but is quite old and represents

almost the same period as that of the *Farhangnama-i-Qawwas* whose solitary copy is preserved in the same library. It has a colophon but the date of the transcription and the name of the scribe are not given. The Ms. is in a good condition and hence quite readable. But some folios are missing at various stages for example fol. 2 containing the concluding part of the preface to the *Farhangnama* which was incorporated in the preface to the *Dasturul-Afazil* is missing. The missing part at this stage has been supplied with the assistance of the Ms. of the *Farhangnama*. The second defect in the form of missing folios is at a stage after the ninth folio. This part consisted of words under ت (concluding part), the words under letter ث (the whole) and the introductory part of chapter ج. Perhaps only one fol. seems to be missing because the letter ث must have included smaller number of words in a short lexicon like the present one. Again the Ms. is defective at a stage after fol. 16 where one or perhaps two folios are missing which had contained the last part of the letter غ , the whole of the letter ف and the introductory part of the letter ق . We may herefore say that the present Ms. is short by three or four folios.

Besides the missing folios the Ms. is full of clerical errors which are not likely to be perfectly removed, for no other copy of the Ms. is available. However, a critical edition is under preparation, its text is being compared and collated with relevant material available in the other lexicons. The *Muaiyidul-Fuzala* has quoted it many times with its name and these quotations are being carefully collected which has resulted in the availability of a number of missing words as well as some words already traceable in the present copy. The latter have been usefully employed in the comparison and collation of the text. The missing part of the introduction has been supplied by Qawwas's preface while the first three introductory lines of the latter work have been obtained from the *Dasturu'l-Afazil*.

The present article aims at examining the value of the *Dasturu'l-Afazil* as a book on Persian lexicography and I hope the purpose is somewhat served.

Foot Notes

1. I have preferred the word with an 'Izafat' because in his Qita', it appears as such *e.g.* دعای حاجب خیرات گوید .
2. His words are : ولشکر حوادث چنان بر من مزیت که از دست چپ و راست خود نشناخت، چون قوت مقاومت نداشتم بضرورت خود را در سر گردانی انداختم --- چون چشمها آب از دیده می راندم وقصۀ حال خود با خویش و بیگانه می خواندم۔
3. The reading of the word بیر (meaning well) is quite certain for in its relation یوسف and جاه have been used.
4. This lexicon has been edited by the writer of the article and is ready for the Press.
5. Hajib-i-Khairat has praised him in these words: آن نهنگ دربای فضایل فخرالدوله والدین مبارك شاه غزنوی عرق کمانگر که از چاشنی کمان سخن بلند از قوس قزح رنگ آرد۔
6. His words are: صدر فرمود شك نیست اما فرهنگ در غایت اختصار است، غرض مبتدیان بحاصل نمی شود۔
7. Died in 573 or 578 A.H. Hadaiq was completed before 568 A.H.
8. Originally خیاط
9. Nothing is known about this title. We are even not quite sure about its reading because the first letter in the present Ms. has no dot under it resulting in another probable reading Hajneri.
10. His words are : صدر باقدر، افضل فضلای روی زمین، اکمل شعرای هند و چین، مشفق نفقه غربا، مربی علماء و بلغا، مکرم کرمای عصر، منشی نظم و نثر، وزیر پیشۀ صاحب رای، دبیراندیشۀ مشکل کشای، نظیرش عاشق هم در آب دیدۀ خود ندیده، بدیلش دیده و گوش معشوق در آئینه و خواب ندیده و نشنیده، تیر چرخ محرر دیوان او، قاضی مسند دوران چون زهره غزل خوان او .....
11. و این کتاب را دستور الافاضل فی لغات الفضایل نام نهاد تا فضلای آخرالزمان و شعرای جاری اللسان را دستوری و مبتدیان و منتهیان را از وی حضوری و سروری بحاصل آید۔
12. This word is defective.
13. This is not a happy construction.
14. Read it as جل
15. The Ms. is defective so we cannot be certain.
16. Vol. 1, p. 59.
17. Vol. 1, p. 102.
18. Vol. 1, p. 54.
19. Vol. 1, p. 101.
20. Vol. 1, p. 55.
21. R.A. s. B Ms., p. 11.
22. Vol. 1, p. 12.
23. Vol. 1, p. 79.
24. Some of these are found in the *Bahrul-Fazail* which is mostly based on the *Dastur* itself.
25. Vol. 1, p. 541

26. P. 64.
27. See *Burhan-i-Qati*, Vol. 2, p. 1296 n. I.
28. *Vide* Ibn-i-Manzur, Lisan al-Arab (Beirut ed.) Vol. 12, p. 349.
29. *Ibid.*
30. The *Dastur* generally deals with single words but occasionally we come across some incomplete sentences.
31. *Madar*, p. 236 agrees with the *Dastur* in this respect.
32. See the *Madar*, Vol. 1, p. 77.
33. *Ibid.*, p., 45.
34. *Ibid.*, p., 175.
35. *Ibid.*, p., 177.
36. See *Muaiyid*, Vol. 1, p. 201.
37. *Ibid.*, p., 140 where it is with: 'طا' and also *Madar*, Vol. 1, p., 207. On p., 292 is given پرتاش . See also *Burhan*.
38. *Madar*, p., 207.
39. See *Madar*, p., 339.
40. *Ibid.*, p., 386.
41. See *Sharafnama* and *Muaiyid*, Vol. 1, p. 376.
42. See *Muaiyid*, Vol. 1, p., 351.
43. See *Madar*, p., 180.
44. Vide *Muaiyid*, Vol. II, p., 86.
45. *Ibid.*, p., 80.
46. See *Ta'rikh-i-Sistan*, p. 23 and *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Vol. 1, p. 275.
47. Besides these the use of verbs like پدرود کرد؛ دمار بر آورد؛ پای خاک کرد؛ طرازد and میندوز etc. in preference to their respective infinitives is not a healthy step. Similarly there was no occasion for using the plural form عرقان in preference to its singular form عرق . Likewise such compounds as غیر مغضوب، شیرزیان، شیر غرین and حبل متین could have easily been adjusted differently.
48. The *Adatul-Fuzala* and *Bahrul-Fazail* have یفع with 'Ya'.
49. In the *Adatul-Fuzala* the third letter is نون and not ت with its meaning as سنگ فلاخن.
50. دارو as available in the present copy is a wrong substitute for جاروب .
51. In the *Adatul-Fuzala* the word کالیوه (پای فارسی) means نادان و سرگشته و دیوانه .

THE LAHJAT-I-SIKANDAR SHAHI, A UNIQUE BOOK ON INDIAN MUSIC OF THE TIME OF SIKANDAR LODI (1489-1517)

Sikandar Lodi was the most illustrious of all the three rulers of the Lodi dynasty. Upon the death of his father, Bahlol, in A.H. 894 A.D. 1489, he was crowned king and after a successful reign of 28 years he died in A.H 923 A.D. 1517, full of glory and distinction. He was a talented monarch and in personal attainments few rulers could compare with him. Besides being a liberal patron of men of letters, Sikandar was a poet and scholar of Persian and wrote verses in Persian under the pen-name of Gul Rukhi[1] Historians, lost in the details of political history, throw very little light on the literary or cultural activities of this prince; but the information gathered from scattered sources proves conclusively that Sikandar Lodi did much for the advancement of learning and scholarship. The discovery of the manuscripts of the *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi*, with which this article deals in some detail, proves that the prince was deeply interested in music[2] and that he did laudable service for the promotion of this important though neglected branch of the fine arts.

The title of the book, as shown in the following sentence, is *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi wa Lataif-i-Namutanahi*[3] (and not *Lahjat-i-Sikandari* as appears on the first page of the manuscripts in different hand).[4]

ونام این نادرة البیان را لهجات سکندر شاهی و لطائف نامتناهی نهاده اند زیرا که نفحات ریاحین لطایف درین بستان به واسطه اعتدال بهار عدل این حضرت انتشار یافته است۔

'And this rare composition was given the title of *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi wa Lataifi-i-Namutanahi*, for the fragrance of the flowers of his favours has spread in this garden through the moderation of the spring of his justice.'

The author, whose proper name remains still to be deciphered, Hammad appears to be his real name, and he was known as Yahya al-Kabuli, was a resident of Kabul as the term *'alkabuli* appended to his name, clearly indicates. The author's name occurs in the

following[5] phrase whic is not very clear:

اما بعد خادم دعا و ناشر ثنا بنده درگاه ازلی حماد نام مصنف عمر سماء یحیی الکابلی

It is, however, certain that 'Umar' and 'Yahya' were parts of his name.

As the author was a non-Indian Muslim he had to take pains in mastering the Sanskrit language, Indian music and the allied sciences; but he studied them very diligently. And it was only when he could translate Sanskrit works on music into Persian in a style agreeable to the temperament of Mian Bahwa,[6] the Prime Minister of Sikandar Lodi, that he took upon himself to complete the present book. He himself points out[7]:-

چون باملا آفتاب فلك سروری و ماه درفشان مهتری قلم سودائی مزاج را باعنهٔ وصول کمال شد که چهره جمال عروس عبارت بعضی نسخهاے هندوی را که موضوع در علم موسیهٔ ار و فن مزمارند بدیباء پارسی آراستگی دهد و چنانچه بندگی مسند عالی و منصب معالی بفرماید همبران طریق تجلهاء استعارات بیاراید و از شیوهٔ صناعت نغمه و سرود و بضاعت اصوات قوانین چنگ و رود تالیفی سازد و دراوصاف بزم جشن بهشت ساحت اردی بهشت راحت ترتیب نماید، بنابرین بتحریك وداعی دولت ...... درکار آمد و آن زردهٔ تیزگام درمیدان بیاض چنان گرم تاخت که بسرور آمد- چون سرش زده بودم از فرمان سرباز نه زد و خدمت را درمیان بست و بدو زبان ترجمهٔ سنگیت رتنا کرو نرت سنگره واد بهرت و سدهاندهی و سنگیت سمسیا و سنگیت کلپترو سنگیت متنگ و بعضی نسخهاء دیگر از زبان طبیعت به عبارت دری تقریر کرد و برمنصهٔ قرطاس عروسان اصوات را از پس پردهٔ خفاپیش فضلاء روزگار بجلوه بیاراست-

"When fostered by the sun of the firmament of sovereignty and the pearl-scattering moon of supreme leadership, the melancholic pen attained perfection in moving swiftly, so that it could adorn alluringly the fair face of the bride of language and dress some manuscripts of Hindui on the subject of Music, in Persian garments, and decorate with the ornaments of metaphor in a style acceptable to Bandagi-i-Masnad-i-Ali and Mansab-i-Ma'ali, (i.e., the premier) in order to compile a book on music and its melodies, treating also of the basic principles of the harp and the lute with the view of promoting a heavenly celebration of the spring season (*Urdibehisht*). Hence on the initiative of state patronage, the pen began to move, but that swift charger ran so fast on the field of paper that it fell. As I had struck him with a whip, it could not disobey me and became ready to serve me and with its

double tongue, it effected a translation of *Sangit Ratnakar, Nrtya Sangarah, Ud Bharat, Sudhanidhi, Sangit Sammassiya, Sangit Kalpatar and Sangit Matang* and certain other works into Dari[8] (Persian) and caused the brides of melodies to come out from behind the curtain of seclusion on to the page and in the presence of men of excellence of the time."

These were the circumstances in which the *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi* was prepared. The author has further explained that when he was fully established in the service of the king, he completed this work which would be valuable gift for posterity and so long as the Persian language was in use his composition would not be neglected or forgotten.

The author[9] dedicated his book to the Sultan as is evident from the following[10]:-

جوں بہ فکر ھاء دراز و مشقتھاء جان گداز و قطع نشیب و فراز راہ حجاز ھرساز این ترجمہ را ترتیب تمہید ساختم دیباچۂ آن بہ اسم بادشاہ اسلام خلد اللہ تعالے ملکہ موشح گردانیدم ورجا ...... است کہ بعز قبول و یمن اقبال و فرالقاب این صاحبقران بی قرین و خسرو روی زمین این تالیف ناسخ مصنفات متقدم گردد۔

> "When after careful thought and soul troubling hardships and after traversing the ups and downs of the ways of the Hejaz of each song, I prepared and completed this translation, I decorated its dedication with the name of the king of Islam (May God perpetuate his kingdom) and hope that in view of the honour of acceptance, the good omen of choice and the loftiness of titles[11] of the matchless king, the master of the world, this would throw the earlier works into disuse."

Since the author based his book on Sanskrit works, he calls the former only a translation which should not be interpreted in the strict sense of the term. The book on the other hand should be considered more or less an independent work. Similarly some might infer from the following sentence[12] that the *Lahjat* is only a translation of a particular book and the author merely plays the role of a translator, though the fact is that he had a number of books before him while engaged in the completion of the work:

مصنف اصل نیز فرو گذاشتہ است بنابر مترجم این مختصر نیاوردہ است

However his main source-books as revealed by himself were the following:-

1. Sangit[13] Ratnakar.
2. Nrtya Sangarah.
3. Ud Bharat[14]
4. Sudhanidhi,
5. Sangit Sammassiya.
6. Sangit Kalpatar or Kalpataro.
7. Sangit Matang.[15]

It is not known with certainty whether prior to this date any book in Persian was written on Indian music. But it is almost certain that the author had none before him while busy on this work. Thus it may be claimed without hesitation that the *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi* is one of the oldest books-if not the oldest Persian books-on this subject. It may also be correctly held that it is the oldest known Persian book on Indian Music.

The *Lahjat* is divided into seven chapters called *Bab* here. Each chapter in its turn is divided into various subsections termed *Fasls*.

The first *Bab*, *Sur Adhyaya*, comprises 31 *Fasls* dealing with *Sharir, Nad Sambodh, Asthanak, Sut, Sat Shudh Sur, Bikrit Sur, Kul, Jat, Baran, Dih, Rikh, Deota, Chhand, Surambeuj,* سـرنبيـوگ[16] *Sut Jat, Gram Tin, Murchhana, Sut Tanan, Kut Tanan, Parastarah, Khand Mir, Sur Sadharan, Jat Sadharan, Kakule Naryuh Paryukh, Baran lakhan, Tirsath Alankar, Jat, Terah Parkar Jat, Lakhan, Kapal, Kampalan (or Kampal), Kith.*

The second *Bab*, Raga Adhyaya, has ten *Fasls* dealing with *Gram Raga, Upraga,* (unidentified) *Raga, Bhakha Raga, Bibhakha Raga, Antar Bhakha Raga, Ragang, Bhakhang, Karang, Upang.*

The third *Bab*, Parkiran Adhyaya, consists of 15 *Fasls* dealing with *Baki Karah, Gondharb, Sorad, Gaina Dokh, Shabd Bhed, Shabd Gun, Shabd Dokh, Sharir, Sharir Gun, Sharir Dokh, Gamak, Asthayak, Alapa, Birand Lakhan.*

The fourth *Bab*, *Parbandh Adhyaya*, contains 6 *Fasls* dealing with *Dhatn, Jat Parbandh, Parbandh, Sorah Parbandh, Git Gun, Git Dokh.*

The fifth *Bab*, *Tal Adhyaya*, comprises 19 *Fasls* dealing with *Marag Tal, Kalah, Batah, Marag Chatwarah, Ashtumarag, Katah Gur Laghwa, Matraen, Ek Kal Tawadheo, Badbibhakah, Tal Bat, Unglina, Bikam Adeo Bhed, Parwarth, Man Liah, Jitah Grah, Gitgan, Desi Tal, Tal Partih.*

The sixth *Bab*, *Bad Adhyaya*, contains 5 *Fasls* dealing with *Tat,*

Sakhar Avandh, Khan, Mahasin-i-Nawazindagan.

The seventh *Bab, Nirit Adhyaya,* consists of 47 *Fasls* dealing with various aspects of the dance, e.g., kinds of dance, the qualities of dancers, their preparations, their defects etc.

The preface of the book comprises the following:-

(a) Hymn to God, the praise of the Prophet of Islam, his family, his companions and the 'Four Caliphs.'

(b) The Kings's praise and the circumstances in which the book was written.

(c) List of contents.

Thus under all the seven chapters there are under 133 Fasls in all; but the number given at the beginning of[17] the list of contents[18] is 137. The second chapter contains 15 *Fasls*, but in the headline appears the number 14.

In short the book deals with all the aspects of Indian music. The author has at times adopted the method of questions and answers. The desirable portions have been adequately elucidated with the help of diagrams and sketches. The style is simple and straightforward, though in the beginning the author has indulged in rhetorical artifices and seems to be very fond of the figure of speech called براعت استہلال. The book amply proves the author's command over the subject as well as over the Sanskrit language. Thus the book supplies very useful material for the study of Indian music. It has some historical significance in view of the following:-

1. It is the oldest Persian extant manuscripts on this subject.
2. It is one of the oldest manuscripts written in Persian on Indian Music.
3. It supplies new and useful information for the period of Sikandar Lodi. For example, through this book we come to know that the Sultan's premier, Mian Bhawa, son of Khawas Khan, was very fond of Indian music. His two associates, Dilawar Khan and Bahadur Khan, were a great support to him and the kingdom.[19]
4. We are also informed that during this period the word *Banda* was popularly used in place of *Hazrat*. The word *Mian* was quite popular and was used in a dignified sense.

The book opens[20] thus:-

شکر وسپاس بے قیاس پروردگاری راکہ گردن حمامۂ جان بطوق تعلق لحن وغنا است واصوات مختلف نام و تلف را برای موانست جان مشتاقان یک دگر

مجانس ساخت تا شادل دل و جان شان برافنان و اغصان لسان شکر حضرت منان سرایند

The actual book begins in this way[21]:-

بدان که حکماے هند علم موسیقی را به زبان خود سنگیت خوانند و سنگیت سه چیز را شامل است، یکی گیت یعنی سرود و دوم باد اعنی سازها سوم نرت ای رقص و رقاصه و استعمال سنگیت مذکور بدو طریق می کنند یکی مارگ دوم دیسی-

A rare manuscripts of this interesting book is preserved in the Lucknow University Library which comprises 206 folios:

Preface:	Fol.	1 - 5b
Contents:	"	5b - 9b
1st Chapter:	"	9b - 49a
2nd Chapter:	"	49a - 56b
3rd Chapter:	"	56b - 67b
4th Chapter:	"	67b - 96b
5th Chapter:	"	96b - 115b
6th Chapter:	"	115b - 131b
7th Chapter:	"	131b - 206

The book is defective and incomplete; defective in the sense that the following portions are missing:-

(a)[22] 1st Chapter, 29th and 30th *Fasls* (completely)

(b) 1st Chapter, concluding portions of the 28th and introductory lines of the 1st *Fasl*.

(c)[23] 4th Chapter, concluding lines of the third and introductory lines of the 4th *Fasl*.

It is incomplete in the sense that scribe could not complete his transcription and the manuscripts closes abruptly on the 18th *Fasl* of the last chapter which, as the list of the contents shows, comprises 47 *Fasls*.

The scribe seems to be one Ruknuddin whose name appears incidentally on fol. 87b along with a note. On fol. 74a and 103b the same name seems to have been mutilated in binding. The manuscripts has been carefully revised. Some missing folios have been supplied in many later hands, for example, Fol. 59-67. Fol. 48 to 133 seem to be in a different hand which is very ordinary. Fol. 74-81 and 3 lines of fol. 82a have a different hand probably by the same scribe.

The manuscripts[24] is in an elegant *Nastaliq*. Each page has 23 lines. It is not dated but is certainly a 16th century hand.

Foot Notes

1. 11 lines of his composition in praise of a saint, Jamali by name, are still preserved in the *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, p. 184.
2. His contemporary, Shah Husain Shargi of Jaunpur, on account of his valuable contribution to Indian music, is considered as a reputed scholar of music. It is just possible that Sikandar turned his attention to this art in a spirit of rivalry and competition.
3. It was usual with Persian and Arabic writers to assign double titles to their compositions.
4. Lucknow Ms., fol. 5b.
5. Fol. 4b.
6. We have different readings of the name. In the *Lahjat* it is Bahuwa بهووا in the *Makkzan-i-Afghani*, it appears as Bahwa بهوه (r any times) pp. 181-182) while in the *Ma'dan-ush-Shifa-i-Sikandar Shahi* (which has been published in the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow) proves his unusual accomplishments in Arabic as well as Indian medicines. Having himself studied the sciences of the subject race and having inspired other scholars to follow his example, Mian Bahwa had the proud privilege of paving the way of bringing the two nations-Hindus and Muslims - nearer each other.
7. Fol. 4b. - 5a.
8. It was one of the Persian dialects, used in a wider sense.
9. He seems to have been a poet too; 12 lines quoted on fol. 3b. in praise of Sikandar Lodi may reasonably be ascribed to him.
10. Fol. 5.
11. The titles of the prince as given in the book are as under:-

    السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم مذيل اولياء الله مذيل اعداء مظهر كلمة الله العليا
    محرز ممالك الدنيا تامع العداة وللمتمردين قاهره العتاة (كذا) والمشر كين شمس الدنيا و
    الدين غياث الاسلام و المسلمين جلال الدولة القاهره مغيث الامة الزاهره، عضدالملة الباهره
    قطب سماء الخلافه نصاب العدل والرافه المويدمن السماء المظفر على الاعداء المتوكل
    على الرحمن ابوالفتح سكندر شاه بن السلطان الكريم علاء الدوله والدين ابوالمجاهد بهلول
    شاه خلد الله تعالى ملكه واعلى امره و شانه۔

12. Fol. 83a.; vide also fol. 75 where we come across such a term as نسخهٔ اصل referring to one of the sources. But the transcriber of the Lucknow University MS. also adds such phrases as كتاب اصل which could not refer to the original source-book for in that case the scribe would be indentical with the author which is impossible here.
13. Its author *Sharungdeo*, was a contemporary of 'Alauddin Khilji (1296-1316). The book is very popular and has been published; but on fol. 97a. we come across the sentence, بقول رتنا کر که مصنف سنگیت رتنا کر است attributing it to a different author and I have been told that Ratnakar was not a part of the name of the author of the published book.

14. The author, Bharat, is a well-known person; but this book is quite unknown.
15. Matang is the author of *Brhaddeshi*. But this is an unknown composition. The same is the case with the rest of the books mentioned here. From the fact that the *Lahjat* proves the existence of some books still unknown, it is very significant.
16. It has been explained in this way: یعنی بیان سرها که هر واحدی کدام رس دارد (fol. 19a).
17. Fol. 6a.
18. Fol. 7a.
19. Fol. 4. - 4b.
20. Fol. 1 b.
21. Fol. 5b.
22. Fol. 48 is blank indicating the defect though supplied later.
23. Fol. 73 is blank indicating the defect though supplied later.
24. Another MS is preserved in the Madras (University) Library.

A FEW HISTORICAL REFERENCES IN THE GULISTAN AND SOME TEXTUAL NOTES

The *Gulistan* is the most reputed work of Shaikh Sa'di which has contributed much to the popularity of Persian language and learning. Most of its anecdotes relate to the historical personalities both of the Islamic and pre-Islamic periods. Some of these are as follow:–

Zahak, Firidun, Ardṣhir Babakan, Naushirwan, Hormuz, Buzurgmihr, Alexander, Moses, Fir'aun, Hatim Tai, the Prophet of Islam, Zun-Nun Misri, Abu Huraira, Galen, Sahban-i-Wa'il, Harunar-Rashid, Mahmud Ghaznavi, Ahmad-i-Hasan Maimandi, Muhammed Khwarazmshah, Ayaz, Abdul Qadir Gilani, Malik Zuzan, Abul Faraj b. al-Jauzi, Ighlamish, Amar Lais, etc., etc.

In the preface the following three personalities have been mentioned:

1. Atabek Muzaffarud-Din Abu Bakr b. Sa'd b. Zangi (d. 658[3] A.H.)
2. Atabek Sa'd b. Abi Bakr b. Sa'd. b. Zangi (d. 658 A.H.)
3. Fakhrud-Din Abu Bakr b. Abi Nasr.

First of all I shall give very brief accounts of these three personalities of the preface to the *Gulistan*.

1. Atabek Sa'd b. Zangi was a wise ruler of Fars, Isfahan and Kirman, who could wisely save his territory from the Mongol invasion. He was so religiously[1] and true to the tenets of Islam that he would not agree to the slightest departure from them. It is stated that he regarded philosophy and sciences against faith and would not hesitate to turn out scholars[2] adept in these branches from his dominion. He was somewhat of harsh temperament which is borne out by what he had done with such reputed scholar and divine as Amid ud-Din Abu Nasr[3] Abzari, the *wazir* of the time of his father Sa'd b. Zangi. The Atabek confined him in the Ashkanwan fort from where he first sent petitions[4] for his release and afterwards composed a pathetic poem eulogising[5] the Prophet of Islam and invoking his intercession. But even this could not move the ruler who ultimately put this scholar to death in 624

A.H. The prison- poem created interest amongst[6] scholars and one of them, who was the Wazir's relative, edited the *qasida* and wrote a commentary on it.

Atabek Abu Bakr died in 658 after 25 or 33 years' successful rule. Sa'di has praised him in the *Gulistan* specially because of his wise steps which saved the Southern Iran from the Mongol onslaught. But it is to be noted that the Shaikh did not dedicate this book to the ruler but to his son, Sa'd b. Abu Bakr who was only a prince in 656 A.H.

2. Atabek Sa'd, the crown prince was sent by his father Abu Bakr b. Sa'd with valuable gifts to Hulagu in 658 for expressing his admiration and congratulating the Mongol conqueror on his conquest of Luristan.[7] On his way back to Shiraz he fell ill. Shortly afterwards his father Abu Bakr died. Atabek Sa'd was crowned as a monarch in absentia; but he could not survive to have this honour and died within[8] 12 or 17[9] days of the death of his father in Jumada I, 658. His dead body was brought to Shiraz and buried in the Madrasa-i-Azudiya.[10] His wife Tarkan Khatun played very significant political role in the subsequent period, while his daughter Abash Khan,[11] one of Sa'di's patrons and a philanthropic lady, was the last ruler of the Salghariyan-i-Fars. Atabek Sa'd b. Abu Bakr was Sa'di's beloved patron to whom the *Gulistan* is dedicated in these words:

گلستان تمام شد و تمام آنگه شود بحقیقت که پسندیده آید دربارگاه جهان پناه سایهٔ کردگار ذخر زمان و کهف امان المويد من السماء المنصور علی الاعداء عضد الدوله القاهره سراج الملة الباهره جمال الانام مفخر الاسلام سعد بن الاتابك الاعظم...... سلطان البر والبحر وارث ملك سليمان مظفر الدين ابی بكر بن سعد بن زنگی ادام الله اقبالهما وضاعف جمالهما...... بكرشمهٔ لطف خداوندی مطالعه فرمائید۔

گر التفات خداوندیش بیاراید
نگارخانهٔ چینی و نقش ارتنگیست
امید هست که روی ملال در نکشد
ازین سخن که گلستان نه جای دلتنگیست
علی الخصوص که (12) دیباچه همایونش
بنام سعد (13) ابوبکر سعد بن زنگیست

3. Fakhruddin Abu Bakr b. Abi Nasr was one of the most

distinguished ministers of the time of Atabek Abu Bakr and Sa'di has desired the approval of the *Wazir* respecting the *Gulistan* in these words:

عروس فکر من از بی جمالی سربر نیارد و دیدهٔ یاس از پشت پای خجالت بر ندارد و در زمرهٔ صاحبدلان متجلی نشود مگر آنکه متحلی گردد بزیور قبول امیر کبیر عالم، عادل، موید، مظفر، منصور، ظهیر سریر سلطنت و مشیر تدبیر مملکت کہف الفقرا ملاذ الغربا ...... فخرالدوله والدین غیاث الاسلام و المسلمین عمدة الملوک و السلاطین ابوبکر بن ابی نصر اطال الله عمره ...... الخ۔

Abu Bakr b. Abi Nasr Hawaiji was a reputed personality and has therefore been noticed in the *Nizamut Tawarikh,*[14] p. 89, *Wassaf*, pp.160-61, 181-83, *Guzida*, p. 507, *Shiraz nama*, pp. 59-60.

Now a few personalities mentioned in the *Gulistan* are briefly noticed below:

Ighlamish:

This personality is briefly mentioned in one of the stories of the first chapter which begins[15] thus:

سرهنگ زادهٔ را بر در سرای اغلمش دیدم که عقل و کیاستی و فهم و فراستی زاید الوصف داشت. هم از خردی آثار بزرگی از ناصیهٔ او پیدا۔

بالای سرش ز هوشمندی　　　　می تافت ستارهٔ بلندی

فی الجمله مقبول نظر سلطان آمد ...... الخ

His full name, according to Juwaini, was Saifud-Din Ighlamish. The Turkish word Ighlamish has been variously spelt as:

ایغلمیش، ایغلمش، القلمش، ایلقمش، ایلقمیش، ایلغمیش، اغلمش

in various[16] sources both printed and in manuscript forms. The western scholars like هوتسما etc., have read الف with ضمه but Mirza Muhammad[17] Qazwini's contention that the first letter should have کسره seems to be more correct. However, of the various readings of the word the correct form is اغلمش and the other readings are either تصحیف or اشباع .

Ighlamish was a slave of Atabek Uzbek,[18] the last of the Atabeks of Azarbaijan who ruled from 607 A.H. to 622 A.H. with his capital at Tabriz[19] and was finally subdued in 622 A.H. by Sultan Jalalud-Din,[20] the illustrious son of Sultan Alaud-Din Khwarazm Shah (d. 617), though the author of the *Tabaqat*[21] mentions erroneously the name of the father himself. However, Ibnul Asir states that Ighlamish was the slave of Uzbek's brother[22] Nusrat

ud-Din Abu Bakr (d. 607), the most liberal patron of the poets and scholars[23] of the time. This much is no doubt certain that Ighlamish mentioned in the *Gulistan* is the same as noticed in the historical writings as the ruler of the بلاد جبال including Ray, Sawa, Qazwin, Zanjan, Abhar, Hamadan, Qum, Kashan and Isfahan.[24] The reasons for such identification are these:

(1) Both had the same Turkish name which is so rare that no otherperson of this name is forthcoming.

(2) Both were more or less contemporary.

Ighlamish rose to a high position under Atabek Muzaffar ud Din Uzbek[25] and was subsequently selected to rule independently over the mountainous territories of Ray, Hamadan, Isfahan and other dependencies, is Jumada I, 612[26] A.H. after the defeat of Muhammad b. Mankali by the combined forces of the Atabek, the Caliph of Baghdad, and the Ismaili ruler of Alamut[27]. It is recorded by Ibnul Athir that when Mankali[28] had taken the control of the بلاد جبال Atabek Uzbek became very jealous of him and ultimately he removed and killed him in the vicinity of Hamadan, and a part of this territory was handed over to the ruler of Alamut; the major part was left to Uzbek himself who subsequently transferred it to Ighlamish to rule over it. The latter was so closely attached to Atabek Uzbek that according to Naswi[29] he was classed اغلمش اتابکی . However, Ighlamish having long been in the service of Alaud-Din Khwarazmshah,[30] got the خطبه in his territory to be read in Khwarazmshah's name. After three to four years' independent rule of Iraq-i-Ajam he was assassinated by a group of Fidais. It is so related that in 614 A.H.[31] he came out to receive the caravan of the pilgrims returning from Hajj. A group of Fidais disguised as pilgrims at the instigation of Nasir, the Baghdad Caliph, attacked and killed him. This event so enraged Khwarazmshah that he at once led a campaign against Iraq in 614 and having subdued it, he turned towards Baghdad to punish the Abbasid Caliph. But he had to leave the campaign unfinished and return to Khurasan in the same year through the Asadabad pass in which a huge number of his men and cattle[32] were perished. As his return to Khurasan is dated 614 A.H., the same year in which the campaign had started, the date of Ighlamish's death should have been the beginning of the same year. The statements of the historians,[33] who give the

date of his death in 614 and that of Zakariya-i-Qazwini[34] who finds him alive in 614, may thus be corroborated.

One important point to be noted is that the death of Ighlamish prompted Atabek Sa'd (d. 623) of Fars to invade Iraq-i-Ajam.[35] His first attack was on Isfahan and after occupying[36] it he proceeded towards Ray where he was confronted by the combined forces of Khwarazmshah and Atabek Uzbek. Atabek Sa'd was captured and was released on the condition that he would pay a substantial tribute and the name of Khwarazmshah would be read in the خطبه. But in the absence of Atabek Sad'd, his son Abu Bakr was crowned as ruler of Fars and after the former's return to Shiraz, a battle took place between the father and the son in which the father succeeded. Atabek Abu Bakr was caught and imprisoned.[37] Mirza Muhammed Qazwini[38] has concluded that Sa'di must have been in Iraq-i-Ajam during the reign of Ighlamish from 611 or 612 to 614 A.H. And as the historical works show that the capital of the rulers of the بلاد الجبال was mostly at Hamadan, Sa'di must have referred to the palace of the ruler, Ighlamish, by using the term سرای اغلمش. This view may be strengthened by the fact that Sa'di after mentioning سرای اغلمش concludes that at last the سرهنگ زاده was chosen by the Sultan. This Sultan is none but Ighlamish himself. In case it is held as correct then Sa'di's birth may have taken place after 577 A.H. because of the presumption that he may be 30-35 years at that time. But this conclusion would in its place create certain new problems.

***Malik Zauzan*:**

One of the stories of the *Gulistan,* chapter I, begins thus:

ملک زوزن را خواجه ای بود کریم النفس الخ[39]

The term ملک زوزن refers to the ruler of Zauzan, an important city situated between Nishapur and Herat which according to Nasir-i-Khusrau, in his *Safarname*, was situated at a distance of 72 Farsakhs from Tabas and 18 Farsakhs from Qain.[40] Today a small village in the vicinity of Turbat-i-Haidariya with 680 inhabitants whose profession is chiefly agriculture and spinning of carpets.[41]

Malik Zauzan was a notable personality of the time of Alaud-Din Mohammad Khwarazmshah, briefly noticed in some of the historical works.

While writing about Malik Ghiyasud-Din, the son of Muhammad Khwarazmshah, Minhaj-i-Siraj[42] says in the *Tabaqqat-i-Nasiri*, "And when the latter (viz. Sultan Malik Ghiyasud-Din, son of Sultan Muhammad) obtained possession of the throne of Kirman and the مسند of Gawashir, he placed the Khwaja of Zauzan upon the throne of Kirman.[43] After some years the Khwaja of Zauzan died. He was an excellent man. He founded colleges of great repute and *rabats* and erected the fortress of Sala-Mihr of Zauzan. When he died, Sultan Muhammad conferred the throne of Kirman upon his son, Aq Sultan."

Malik Zawzan's full name was Qawamud-Din Muiyyidul Mulk Abu Bakr b. Ali az-Zauzani, a notable figure of Sultan Alaud-Din Muhammad Khwarazmshah (d. 617). His name comes into prominence in connection with the battle of Khwarazmshah with Atabek Sa'd b. Zangi of Fars. On the authority of the *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, Raverty adds a foot-note in his translation of the *Tabaqat*[44] as follows:-

"In the year 603 H.[45] Sa'd was taken prisoner on the confines of Ray by the troops of Muhammad Khwarazmshah. He was released on the stipulation that he would pay the fourth or third part of the revenue of Fars and Iraq. The *Muntakhab ul Tawarikh* says that Sa'd was released on the intercession of ملك زوزن."

Raverty has added some new and interesting facts on p. 266 of the translation:

"On reaching Damghan, Sultan Muhammad found that Atabek Sa'd, the ruler of Fars, with an army, had reached Ray with hostile designs against the territory of Iraq. He pushed on without delay. The troops of Shiraz were broken and Sa'd was taken prisoner. The Sultan was for putting him to death but Sa'd having made interest with the Malik of Zauzan, was admitted through him to the Sultan's presence. Sa'd was released on the agreement to give up two of the strongest fortresses of Fars, and to pay one fourth of the revenue as tribute. Fasihi states that this took place in 603; *Yafa'i* and *Guzids* say it happened in 613; while روضة الصفا and خلاصة الخيار say in 614."

Ibnul Asir records the invasion of Ray (بلاد الجبال) in 613 after the assassination of Ighlamish by the Fidais (v, 12, p. 121) and this date should, therefore, be taken as correct. Thus Malik Zauzan's

presence in the battle in 613 is fully established. But the Malik's attachment with Muhammad Khwarazmshah and his close association with the affairs of Khurasan start much earlier than the siege of Herat about 607 A.H. It is stated by Raverty[46] that Malik Izzud-Din Husain-i-Kharmil Ghuri had turned towards the Khwarazmshah but when he heard the rumour that the Khwarazmshah had been taken prisoner by the Khatiis, he began intriguing with the Ghurids but they did not accept his apology due to his past conduct. So he sought the assistance of the Khwarazmi nobles which he got. Thus he routed the Ghurid forces. But the Khwarazmi Amirs could not be sincere to him. However, they kept on good terms with him and one day invited him for consultation. When the council broke up Qawamud-Din Malik Zauzan invited Kharmil to a feast and drinking bout. The latter excused himself under plea of want of time. Qawamud-Din seized his bridle as though determined to take no denial and gave a sign to the rest of the nobles who drew their swords, dispersed Kharmil's followers and dragged him on foot to their tents. He was then sent away as a prisoner to a nearby fortress.

It is not clear when Malik Zauzan was appointed by Muhammad Khwarazmshah in Kirman but it is certain that he had been in control of the affairs of this province for quite sometime before the Sultan died in 617 A.H. It is most probable that Malik Zauzan could not survive his master for, according to *Minhaj-i-Siraj*,[47] Khwarazmshah's son Ruknud-Din was perhaps killed in 617 A.H. some time after his father. According to Raverty[48] Ruknud-Din had retired after his father's death towards Kirman and was joined by the chiefs and the partisans of Malik Zauzan. From this it follows that Malik Zauzan was not alive then. His son, Izzud-Din, held Kirman sometime after his father Malik Zauzan's death, but he was later removed and the government was conferred on Ruknud-Din.[49] Sultan Ghiyasud-Din Pirshah, another son of Muhammad Khwarazmshah, was nominally the ruler[50] of Kirman after Malik Zauzan and his son. Raverty has, however, added that one Shuja'ud-Din Abul Qasim had held the government of Kirman on the part of Izzud-Din, the son of Malik Zauzan.

In short, Malik Zauzan was a dominating personality whose

last assignment was the government of Kirman which passed on to his son Izzud-Din to be removed before 617 A.H.

From Sa'di's anecdote it may be infer that Malik Zauzan was a full fledged ruler with whom the rulers of adjoining territory had enemity and some of them planned to conspire against the Malik in which act they sought help of Khwaja who was imprisoned by Malik Zauzan, but the Khwaja refused.

It may also be inferred that the Malik belonged to an illustrious family as the words پروردۂ نعمت این خاندانم fully endorse.

Abdul Qadir Gilani:

The second story of the second chapter of the *Gulistan* begins thus:-

عبدالقادر گیلانی را رحمة اللّه دیدند در حرم کعبه روی بر حصابها نهاده همی گفت الخ۔

In some of the printed editions and even in some of the manuscripts is found دیدم instead of دیدند, (In the manuscripts of *Kulliyat-i-Sa'di*, M.A. Library, A.M.U., Aligarh, transcribed in 814 A.H., the word is دیدم and not دیدند) which implies that Shaikh Sa'di had himself seen the saint in Mecca. But this is not possible for the obvious reason that Abdul Qadir Gilani (more popularly known as Abdul Qadir Jilani) had died in 561 A.H., before the birth of the Shaikh. Abdul Qadir Jilani msut have gone to Mecca much earlier than 561 A.H., (say about 550 A.H., i.e. eleven years before his death). In case we suppose that Sa'di had seen the saint in 550, then Sa'di's birth should be supposed to have taken place not later than 530 A.H., if Sa'di's age at the time of the meeting be 20 years. Thus the age of Sa'di on his death in 791 A.H. or 792 A.H. would be one hundred sixty one or sixty two years. This remains unsupported by any other event. Instead, it creates other confusions and contradictions. Thus it is certain that the common reading of the *Gulistan* is incorrect. The correct word is دیدند and not دیدم and in the authentic manuscripts the same word is available which has been adopted by Furughi, Abdul Azim Gurgani, Abbas Eqbal Ashtiani and others.

Now, a few words about Abdul Qair Gilani. He is the reputed saint Hazrat Muhi-ud-Din Abdul Qadir Gilani (d. 561), the founder of the Qadiri order of the sufis. He is very popular in

India and is popularly called as غوث العظم. He died at Baghdad and lies buried there. Recently his mausoleum which is visited by thousands of his followers has been renovated. He was a prolific writer too and his following works[51] are quite well known:-

1. *Bashairul-Khairat*
2. *Diwan* of Arabic poetry
3. al-Ghuniatul Talibin
4. *Tariqul Haqq*
5. *al-Fath ul Rabbani*
6. *Futuhul Ghayb*
7. *al-Fuyuzatur Rabbaniah*
8. *Malfuzat-i-Qadiriyo*
9. *Malfuzat-i-Gilani, etc.*

Shaikh Abul Faraj b. al-Jauzi:

In a story of the chapter II of the *Gulistan* Shaikh Abul Faraj b. al-Jauzi is mentioned thus[52] :

چندانکه مرا شیخ اجل [53] ابوالفرج ابن جوزی رحمة اللّٰه ترك سماع فرمودی و بخلوت و عزلت اشارت کردی، عنغوان شبابم غالب آمدی و هوا و هوس طالب، ناچار بخلاف رای مربی قدمی برفتمی و از سماع و مجالست حظی بر گرفتمی و جون نصیحت شیخم یاد آمدی، گفتمی:

قاضی ار با ما نشیند بر فشاند دست را

محتسب گر می خورد معذور دارد مست را

It is obvious that Sa'di was very close to the Shaikh for in the last part of the story Sa'di says that the Shaikh advised him *many times* to keep away from music:

شیخ اجلم بارها ترك سماع فرموده است

This has confused many scholars of Sa'di for they conclude that Sa'di's reference is to Shaikh Jamal-ud-Din Abul Faraj Abdur Rahman b. al-Jauzi,[54] the great historian and jurist of Baghdad who was born in 510 A.H. and died in 597 A.H. and who is the author of *Kitabul Muntazam, Kitabul Azkia, Talbis-i-Iblis* etc. They have maintained that in view of Sa'di's association with the Shaikh who had died in 597 A.H., his (i.e. Sa'di's) date of birth should be put near about 577 A.H. But this presupposes an unusually long age of 114-15 years of the Savant who had died in 791 A.H. or 792 A.H.. But we are not in a position to accept such a long age for Sa'di as it

has not been supported by any evidence of credit.[55] The solution of the problem lies in the correct identification of the personality of Shaikh Abul Faraj mentioned in the story of the *Gulistan*. There were two Abul Farajs: the elder was the author of the *Talbisi-i-Iblis* etc. mentioned above, who was the grand father of the younger Abul Faraj. The latter bore[56] the same name and title etc. and had like his grandfather lived in Baghdad, and like him he was also a divine and a preacher (واعظ) and for a long time had held the office of *Ihtisab*. His father Muhiud-Din Yusuf[57] b. Jamal ud-Din Abdur Rahman and his two brothers namely Sharafud-Din[58] Abdullah and Tajud-Din Abdul Karim[59] were put to death by the Mongols on their conquest of Baghdad and the sack of the metropolis, very close to the compilation of the *Gulistan* in 656 A.H. From this it is more fair to conclude that the person referred to in the *Gulistan* is Abul Faraj Jauzi II, the grandson of the first. He was appointed as an assistant of his father in 631 A.H. at Baghdad. and then was appointed as a *Muhtasib* of the metropolis after 632 A.H., and was thereafter killed by the Mongols in 656 A.H.

In Sa'di's story the word محتسب is very significant. It may have some reference to Abul Faraj, the younger who was appointed to the post of *Muhtasib* in 632 A.H. and Sa'di being quite young (عنفوان شباب) must have been born not later than 610-612.

Mirza Mohammed Qazwini has also discussed in one of his letters to Taqi Zadeh[60] and subsequently at the end of the *Jahan-gusha*[61], Shaikh Sa'di's relation with Abul Faraj b. al-Jauzi and has proved that Sa'di's reference is to Abul Faraj b. al-Jauzi the younger (the grandson of his namesake) called *sibt* (سبط). But the earliest attempt in this regard was made by Dr. Abbas Iqbal Ashtiani in his article in *Iran*, 13115.

Ardshir Babakan :

Ardshir Babakan has been mentioned in a story of *Gukistan* under chapter III thus:

در سیرت اردشیر بابکان آمده است الخ

In the word بابکان of the compound اردشیر بابکان, the letters ان at the end of the word represent اضافت ابنی in the Pahlavi; thus the words اردشیر بابکان would mean Ardshir b. Babak, i.e., Ardshir, son of Babak. This Pahlavi compound is so popular that in Persian it is

used without any alteration though according to the rules in Persian, it stands as meaningless.

Ardshir was the founder of the great Sassanian dynasty and ruled from 226 A.D. to 241 A.D. As a great warrior and conqueror he had conquered Fars, Kirman and the islands in the Gulf; then he liquidated the Parthian empire and finally defeated the Romans and the ruler of Armenia. Thus in a span of 15 years he subjugated the whole of Iran and established the most glorious dynasty of pre-Islamic period. The Sassanid culture has influenced the medi-eval and it has its distinct impact even on the Islamic culture.

Ardshir Babakan has been idealised and his career has been intermixed with imaginary events of achievements to such an extent that the Dastan: *Karnama-i-Ardshir Babakan* has several tracts of the Fables of Cyrus the Great, of the Achaemenians.

In Urdu poetry Ardshir is not a favourite allusion. However, Iqbal has mentioned him as a symbol of wordly honour:

اسی میں حفاظت ھے انسانیت کی
که هوں اك جنیدی و اردشیری

***Muhammad Khwarazmshah*:**

Shaikh Sa'di in the fifth chapter of the *Gulistan* while mentioning his personal experience has referred to Muhammad Khwarazmshah. The story begins thus:

سالی که محمد خوارزمشاه رحمة الله علیه با ختا برای مصلحتی صلح کرد
بجامع کاشغر درآمدم، پسری نحوی دیدم بغایت اعتدال و نهایت جمال۔

The story continues thus:

That sweet boy in the Kashghar Mosque had the مقدمهٔ نحو of Zamakhshari in his hand and repeated the words ضرب زیدٌ عمرواً و کان المتعدی عمرواً Sa'di said: 'Khwarazm and Khita have concluded a truce and Zaid and Amar are having the same enemical terms. The boy smiled and enquired about my native place. On my reply that I belonged to Shiraz he asked me if I had any verse of Sa'di in my mind. I read two Arabic verses. The boy remarked that Sa'di's verses were in Persian and if I would recite them he would be able to follow. Then I read these lines:–

طبع ترا تا هوس نحو کرد　　صورت صبر از دل ما محو کرد
ای دل عشاق بدام تو صید　　ما بتو مشغول و تو با عمرو و زید

Sultan Alaud-Din Muhammed Khwarazmshah ascended the throne in 596 A.H. after the death of his father Sultan Takish. He

was a great and powerful monarch–wise, valiant, munificent, a patron of the learned, a conqueror and impetuous, and whatever qualifications are required for a great and just sovereign, the Almighty had endowed[62] him with them. During the span of 20 years of his rule he conquered the whole of Iran, Transoxiana and Turkistan and had subdued the Ghorids, the Atabek of Faras, the Khan of Khita, the Afrasiabis of Samarqand and other minor rulers of the region. Thus he had fully established himself as the most powerful sovereign. It is stated in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*[63] that in the year 615 A.H. he pushed on towards Turkistan and penetrated as far as Yighmur of Turkistan, so far to the north that he came under the North Pole, and reached a tract where the light of twilight did not disappear from the sight. The matter was accordingly referred to the Ulama and Muftis of Bukhara respecting the obligation to repeat the Isha prayer. As the light of twilight did not disappear at all, was the Isha prayer necessary or not? They replied that the prayer was not necessary when the prescribed time for it could not be found with the people.

During the height of his glory Chingese Khan invaded his territory and the Muslims were so terrified with the Mongol hordes that they were disorganised with the result that they could not check the advance of the Mongols and after several engagements Sultan Muhammad fled before the Mongol troops and took shelter in an island in the Caspian Sea where he died in 617 unceremoniously. His remains[64] were brought to Khwarazm by Sultan Jalal-ud-Din and buried there.

His son Jalal-ud-Din was the most gallant[65] monarch and he collected some army and managed for a while to check the advancement of the Mongols against whom he waged several fierce battles. He had to flee to the bank of Sind and Chingese Khan was on his hot pursuit. He had an engagement with the Mongols but was defeated. Unable to offer resistance to the pursuing forces he plunged into the Sind river from an over-hanging bank, some 25 to 30 feet above the water where the river was about 180 feet deep, 750 feet wide and running at the rapid rate of nine or ten miles an hour. Chingese Khan and the whole of the Mongols witnessed the wonderful feat with utter amazement; and Chingese Khan himself, when he beheld the Sultan's lofty bearing,

turned his face to his sons and said[66], "Such a son as this is worthy to survive his father. Since he has escaped the vortex of fire and water countless deeds will be achieved by him, and vast trouble caused; and as long as he lives it is fallacious for us to entertain the hope of dominion and empire".

The Sultan, unable to consolidate his position in India and having been denied assistance from the Delhi Sultan, could not remain[67] for long. He again turned his attention to Iran, entered the territory of Kirman, then Fars, then Azarbaijan and defeated the infidels of Georgia and also subdued the last of the Atabeks of Azarbaijan. He also had engagements with the armies of Rum and Sham. The Mongol forces went in pursuit of him but the Sultan defeated them in several engagements. But when encamping on the confines of Azarbaijan, the Mongol troops attacked him and the Sultan was forced to flee and reached the territory of Akhtat where he was killed by the chieftain in 628 A.H. or 629 A.H. On his death the Khwarazmsahi dynasty terminated and the brilliant career of the gallant Sultan came to an end.

Now let us turn to the story of *Gulistan* in which Sa'di has related that on the occasion of truce between the Khan of Khita and Khwarazmshah the writer was so well known throughout the land of Islam that a small boy had heard of him and of his poetry. Obviously, for gaining such celebrity the writer must have been of ripe experience and fully grown up personality of not less than thirty years of age. Khwarazmshah's first engagement with the ruler of Khita took place as early as 606 A.H. and the second one a year later. Thus Sa'di's date of birth may be calculated to be about 576 A.H., which seems to be incorrect. Under such circumstances there is no alternative but to conclude that Sa'di is confused here.

Hasan Maimandi

Hasan Maimandi has several times been mentioned in the *Gulistan* as a great Wazir of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. But this is not the correct name of the minister concerned. He was Ahmad b. Hasan Maimandi. His full name was Shamsul Kafat Abul Qasim Ahmad b. Hasan Maimandi. In 384 A.H. Sultan Mahmud (d. 421 A.H.) appointed him as the Chief of the Diwan-i-Rasail. Then he was raised as مستوفي الممالك and the officer in charge of Diwan-

i-Araz (دیوان عرض), then Amil of Bast and Rakhaj. In 404 A.H. on the death of Abul Abbas Fazl b. Ahmad Isfraini, Mahmud appointed him as the chief minister. In 415 A.H. he left his post and then he was imprisoned in the Kalinger fort. When Masud sat on the throne of Ghazni in 421 A.H. he got Ahmad released and appointed him as his chief minister. He died in 424 A.H.

Like Sa'di several scholars have improperly given his name as Hasan[68] which was the name of his father, an official during the time of Amir Subaktagin.

Ahmed b. Hasan, himself a poet, was a patron of poets and writers. Some poets of his time have praised him in their writings of whom Farrukhi is very conspicuous by composing several *qasidas* in his praise. The minister is severally mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi, Tarikhi-i-Yamini* and *Kamil* of Ibnul Athir. A few verses denoting his name and title are given below:-

صاحب سید آفتاب کفاة
خواجه بوالقاسم احمد ابن حسن

گفتم که نام صاحب و نام پدرش چیست
گفته یکی خجسته پی احمد یکی حسن

خواجه بزرگ شمس کفاة احمد حسن
کاحسان او و نعمت او دستگیر ما

In the lst line the compound احمد حسن is an example of اضافت ابنی i.e. احمد ابن حسن ; the same اضافت is used in the term محمود سبکتگین available in a story of the *Gulistan* thus:

یکی از ملوك خراسان محمود سبکتگین را بخواب چنان دید

The compound محمود سبکتگین means محمود بن سبکتگین.

The incorrect interpretation of اضافت ابنی leads to a highly misleading result and it is in this context that I have added these lines about the grand Wazir of Mahmud Ghaznavi, otherwise so well-known a figure needs no introduction.

Ayaz

Ayaz has been mentioned in an anecdote of the *Gulistan*, and I shall take the privilege of introducing him briefly.

Ayaz is a very common allusion in Persian and Urdu poetry.

But it is not usually known that he was one of the most dominating political figures of the time of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi (d. 421 A. H.) and Masud Ghaznavi (d. 432 A.H.). Baihaqi has listed him among the pillars of the reign of Sultan Mahmud in this statement:

چون سلطان ماضی محمود بن سبکتگین غازی در غزنی فرمان یافت --- پسر بزرگ و ولی عهد وی امیر مسعود در سپاهان بود --- و از تخت ملک بسیار دور بود- بناء علی هذا امناء و ارکان دولت محمودی از قبیل امیر علی (69) قریب حاجب بزرگ و عضدالدوله امیر یعقوب یوسف بن ناصرالدین سبکتگین برادر سلطان سپه سالار و امیر حسن وزیر مشهور بحسنك وزیر و بونصر مشکان صاحب دیوان رسالت و بوالقاسم کثیر صاحب دیوان عرض و بکتغدی سالار غلامان (70) سرائی و ابوالنجم ایاز و علی دایه خویش سلطان، این جمله --- بصوابدید یکدیگر دریافت وقت را پسر کهتر سلطان ماضی --- امیر ابو احمد محمد را از گوزگانان که بدارالملك نزدیك بود، آورده بجای پدر بزرگوارش بر تخت سلطنت نشانیدند (ص ۱)-

Ayaz's full name was Abun-Najm[71] Ayaz b. Wimaq. He was a Turk by descent and from an insignificant position he attained such a high position as to become instrumental in enthroning Amir Masud. He, in consultation with Ali Daya,[72] succeeded in contacting Masud at Nishapur and informing him that the nobles of the court had joined hands to support him. While proceeding to Nishapur they were chased by the loyal contingent sent by Amir Muhammad but the latter was defeated[73] and crushed and its Commander, a Hindu general Sondhray by name was killed.

Gardezi in the *Zainul Akhbar* states as follows:

چون پنجاه روز از وفات امیر محمود رحمة الله بگذشت امیر ایاز با غلامان تدبیر کرد و از ایشان بیعت ستد بر رفتن بسوی امیر مسعود رحمة الله و همه اجابت کردند و سوگند خوردند و --- علی دایه اجابت کرد برفتن سوی آن لشکر و روز دیگر غلامان سرای بیرون آمدند و به ستورگاه رفتند و اسپان بکشادند و بر نشستند با سلاحهای تمام و رویا روی از در کوشك بیرون آمدند و همچنان به مکابره رفتند- چون خبر به امیرمحمد رسید، لشکر را از پس ایشان فرستاد و از جملهٔ حشم سوندهرای که سپه سالار هندوان بود، با سوار چند بر اثر ایشان رفت و ایشان را اندر یافت و بر آویخت و غلامان حرب کردند و بسیار هندو را بکشتند و سوندهرای نیز کشته شد --- ابوالنجم ایاز بن ایماق و علی دایه همچنان با آن غلامان انبوه بتعجیل همی رفتند تا همه به نیشاپور پیش امیر مسعود رحمة الله

آمدند (ص ۱۹۴-۱۹۵)۔ چون ایاز بن ایماق (⁷⁴) و علی دایه به نیشاپور رسیدند، امیر مسعود رحمة الله قوی دل گشت و بار داد و بظالم نشست (ص ۱۹۲)۔

Again when Sultan Masud received disturbing news from Ray, he thought of effecting a change in the administrative machinery of the regime. The interesting dialogue which he had with the Prime Minister, Khwaja Ahmad shows the qualities of Ayaz as an administrator. Khwaja suggested two names, Ali Daya and Ayaz. But the Sultan did not agree on the ground that Ali Daya was to be appointed as سپه سالار and Ayaz though trained under Sultan Mahmud, was still inexperienced having served only in the household and not in far off regions. Baihaqi states as follows:[75]

و این اعیان که بدرگاه اند هر کسی که شغلی دارد چو حاجب بزرگی و سالاری غلامان سرای و جز آن، از شغل خویش دور نتوان شد که خلل افتد، از دیگران باید۔ خواجه گفت در علی دایه چه گوئید که مردی محتشم و کاری است و در غیبت خداوند چنان خدمتی کرد که پوشیده نیست، یا ایاز که سالار نیك است و در همهٔ کارها با امیر ماضی بوده، امیر گفت: علی سخت شایسته و بکار آمده است، وی را شغلی بزرگ خواهیم فرمود --- ایاز بس بناز و عزیز آمده است، هر چند عطسهٔ (⁷⁶) پدر ماست از سرای دور نبوده است و گرم و سرد نچشیده است و هیچ تجربت نیفتاده ویرا، مدتی باید که پیش ما باشد بیرون از سرای تا در هر خدمتی گامی زند و وی را آزمودید آنگاه نگریم و آنچه باید فرمود بفرمائیم۔

Although the opinions of the Prime Minister and the Sultan differed respecting the suitability of Ayaz for the post of the administrator (سالاری) of Ray, yet it is quite clear that Ayaz had the qualities of a سالار and had been with Sultan Mahmud day in and day out. But the Sultan's feeling was that he was tender and nourished dearly, lacking the qualities of a leader who could face difficult situation boldly and creditably.

The virtues of this noble have been brought out by Farrukhi Sistani in his *qasida* in praise of Ayaz. A few lines are quoted below:[77]

ز دل برداشت خواهم بار اندوه	چو نزد میر میران یافتم بار
امیر جنگجوی ایاز اویماق	دل و بازوی خسرو روز پیکار
سواره کز در میدان در آید	ز پای اندر فتد دلهای نظار
یکی گوید که آن سرویست بر کوه	دگر گوید گلی تازه است بربار
زنان پارسا از شوی گردند	بکابین کردنی او را خریدار

دلیران از نهیبش روز کوشش — همی لرزند چون برگ سپیدار
اگر بر سنگ خارا بر زند تیر — بسنگ اندر نشاند تا به سوفار
برون پراند از نخچهر ناوك — من این صد بار دیدستم نه یك بار
نه بر خیره بدو دل داد محمود — دل محمود را بازی مپندار
جز او پیش سلطان نیز کس بود — جز او سلطان غلامان داشت بسیار
اگر چون میر یکتن بود ازیشان — نه چندان بد مر او را گرم بازار
خداوند جهان مسعود محمود — که او را زر همی بخشد بخروار
جز او را از همه نیران کرا داد — بیك بخشش چهل خروار دینار
ندادندیش چندین گر نبودی — بچندین و بصد چندین سزاوار
بجای قدر میر و همت شاه — تو این را خواردار و اندك انگار
بجائی برد خواهد خسرو او را — که سالاران بدو کردند سالار
بدو بخشید مال خطهٔ بست — خراج خطهٔ مکران و قزدار
کجا گردد فراموش آنچه او کرد — ز بهر خدمت شاه جهاندار
میان لشکری عاصی نگهداشت — وفا و عهد آن خورشید احرار
بروز روشن از غزنین برو رفت — همی زد پا جهانی تا شب تار
نماز شام را چندانکه خوانند — که دشت از کشته شد با پشته هموار
گروهی را ازان شیران جنگی — بکشت و ما بقی را داد زنهار
جز او هر گز که کرده است این بگیتی — بخوان شهنامه و تاریخ و اخبار
خدایا ناصر او باش و از قدر — سر رایاتش از خورشید بگذار

This historical poem reveals that Ayas was a great warrior, a support for the King, so handsome that the pious women would seek separation from their husbands so as to marry him, a great archer. It was because of these qualities that Amir Mahmud was enamoured of him. Although the Sultan had a large number of slaves in his court, none would approach Ayaz in excellence and accomplishments. Even Sultan Mas'ud had a liking for him and showered on him a large amount of gold so much so that on one occasion the Sutan bestowed on him forty *kharwar* (asses' load) dinar. Besides, he was given the revenue of the territories of Bust, Mukran and Quzdar. It was because of his services and connections with the Sultan's succession to the throne of Ghazni. He was very loyal and faithful to the Prince, left Ghazni for Nishapur to meet the latter being chased by the loyalists who were totally annihilated and only a few were pardoned. The wonderful feat Ayaz had accomplished has no parallel in history.

From Baihaqi's account as well as from Farrukhi's *qasida* it appears that Ayaz was handsome and that he was brought up uner the fostering care of the Sultan who was much enamoured of his beauty and excellences. But it is not clear what type of relationship Mahmud had developed with him. However, a sixth century A.H. biographer, viz. Nizami Aruzi Samarqandi provides ample evidence to the effect that Sultan Mahmud was in love with Ayaz. He states in the *Chahar Maqala*[78] thus:-

عشق که سلطان یمین الدوله محمود را بر ایاز ترك بود، معروف است و مشهور، آورده اند که سخت نیکو صورت نبود لیکن سبز چهره شیرین بوده است، متناسب اعضا و خوش حرکات و خردمند و آهسته و آداب مخلوق پرستی او را عظیم دست داده بوده است و دران باره از نادرات زمانهٔ خویش بوده است و این همه اوصاف آنست که عشق را بعث کند و دوستی را بر قرار دارد۔

He proceeds that the Sultan was a pious person and despite his great love for Ayaz he would never deviate from the path of the *Shara'*. Once in a joyous assembly he looked at the curly locks of Ayaz and was so enamoured of them that he got him beside himself and had a mood to embrace him but the timely reminding of the sanction of the *Shari'ah* got him refrained from this act. Then he took a knife and asked Ayaz to cut off his tresses. The latter obeyed and immediately cut both the locks and put them before the Sultan. This act endeared him more and the Sultan was so pleased as to honour him by bestowing heaps of gold and pearls on Ayaz then and there. Then he went to bed. When he got up in the morning he was much disturbed to remember what had happened. The great Hajib, Ali Qarib[79] sensed it and asked the poet laureate Unsuri to please the Sultan by some contrivance. Seeing the poet, the Sultan asked him to compose a quatrain depicting the event. Unsuri composed the following poem and the Sultan was very much pleased thereat[80]:-

کی عیب سر زلف بت از کاستن است
چه جای بغم نشستن و خاستن است
جای طرب و نشاط و می خواستن است
کاراستن زلف ز پیراستن است

Nizami Aruzi's statement is a good defence of Sultan Mahmud's piety, though it represents Ayaz as an eastern beloved. We

have a similar account about Yaqub-i-Laith, the Saffarid (d. 265 A.H.), who in a fit of religious zeal ordered[81] his slave Subkari, one of the dominating personalities of his[82] court to cut off his tresses so as to lose attraction.

It looks strange and unusual that Ayaz (or may be Subkari) who occupied such a significant position in the court that his case was to be considered for the post of Governor of Ray, who would collect a huge contingent to support the cause of Mas'ud Ghaznavi and finally succeeded in enthroning him as the worthy successor of the great Sultan Mahmud, and who was the Collector of Bust and Governor of Mukran and Quzdar, be dubbed as the beloved of Sultan Mahmud. Though some evidence to this effect may have been provided by the author of the *Chahar Maqala* and some contemporary poets such as Minuchihri[83] (d. 432 A.H.), one cannot be quite sure about the nature of love and relationship the Sultan had with Ayaz. This can be settled only on the availability of further evidences.

Now I shall give a brief comment about a geographical name occuring in *Gulistan*[84] as follows:-

سالی از بلخ بامیانم سفر بود و راه از حرامیان پر خطر الخ

In some copies of the *Gulistan* the word بامیانم has different readings like با شامیانم etc. Moreover, Bamian was a very important political centre in Afghanistan during the time of the Ghurids and Khwarazmshahis. From this one may conclude that between the words بلخ and بامیانم there should be a واو عطف. But the fact is that بلخ بامیان or بلخ بامي is the older name of Balkh itself, the letter م denotes first personal pronoun in possessive case. Both the historical and literary sources present ample proof for the existence of a city called بلخ بامي or بلخ بامیان. I shall quote a few:

The book: *Fazail-i-Balkh gives*[85] these accounts:

بعضی گویند که بلخ را بلخ بامی نام است و بامی نام ملکی است و بعضی گویند بامی نام دختر گشتاسپ است۔

و سید امام اجل عالم شهید ابوالقاسم سمرقندی در کتاب تاریخ بلخ آورده است که بلخ در اول وضع برخ بوده است و برخ نصیب و بهره باشد و بامی منسوب به بام و معنی بام مکان مرتفع باشد یعنی مملکت و پادشاهی بلخ از رفیع ترین انحاء ملک است۔

Prof. Habibi has added these notes[86] :

بلخ بامی در ادب فارسی شهرت دارد،

فرخی : مرحبا ای بلخ بامی همره باد بهار

اسدی طوسی : که خوانی ورا بلخ بامی بنام

فردوسی : سوی بلخ بامی فرستاد شان

بیرونی[87] : بلخ و اسمه فی القدیم بامی

In Pahlawi it was بلخ بامیك which in the Avests is *Bakhdi Sarira*; بلخ بامی means beautiful and brilliant. In Pushtu literature *Bami* is a flower and the Naubahar temple at balkh was covered with flowers on the occasion of the New Year festival (*Mujmaul Buldan* F8/320) and even today the red flower fair, arranged in connection with New Year's day, is an attractive feature.

Siraji has used بلخ بامیان in the following line:

نشان نداد کسی از طریق حسن و جمال
بتی چنو بهمه بلخ بامیان اندر

Farhang-i-Rashidi gives a wrong interpretation of the name:

بامیان الکه ایست میان هری و بلخ که میان آن و بلخ ده منزل است و بلخ را بدو نسبت داده بلخ بامی گویند۔

The *Anand Raj* supplies this information:

همچنان مرو را مرو شاهجهان گویند بلخ را بلخ بامیان گویند۔

Burhan-i-Qati :

بامی بر وزن جامی لقب شهر بلخ است،
بلخ نام شهری است مشهور از خراسان و آن از شهر های قدیم است، لقب آن بامی است الخ۔

Dr. Khalil Rahbar[88] has supplied this information :-

در اوستا Bama بمعنی درخشان است و بامداد در فارسی از همین ماده است، در ص ۳۰۲ کتاب احسن التقاسیم مقدسی آمده است:
بلخ و یقال له ان اسمها فی کتب الاعاجم بلخ البهیه۔
بهیه: ضعیف مشبه بصیغهٔ موئث از نها بمعنی روشن و درخشان۔

Here are some more evidences[89] :

فرخی : به بلخ بامی بشتافتم بخدمت تر
چنان کجا متنبی بخدمت کافور

امیر معزی : گربه آهنگ دژ روئین گذشت اسفندیار
بی گزند از هفتخوان در راه بلخ بامیان
روحی : گه بلا بین بلخ بامیانم گه غم آگین مرو
شہجانم
ادیب صابر : شد از پیش او کینه ور بی درخش
سوی بلخ بامی کشیدش درفش

The above discussion convincingly proves that in older days Balkh was called Balkh Bami and Balkh Bamian. The word بامیان joined wit بلخ has nothing to do with another city named Bamiyan.

Now I shall refer to three lexical problems.

In the preface of the *Gulistan*[90] Sa'di remarks:-

ذکر جمیل سعدی که در افواه عام افتاده است وصیت سخنش که در بسیط زمین رفته و قصب الجیب حدیثش که همچو شکر می خورند الخ -

He means to say that he has grown very popular among the people and the reputation of his writings has reached every corner of the world so much so that his dry words are taken as sugar. The term قصب الجیب needs our attention. The word قصب means a kind of silken cloth and جیب means skirt. The peculiarity of the قصب is that it is torn asunder in the light of the moon. Siraji[91] says:

اطلس عمر عدو از آفتاب خنجرت
هر نفس ریزان شود همچون قصب در ماهتاب

Anwari[92] :

یك جہان جان بود و دل همچون قصب در ماهتاب

The separate meanings of the two words make no sense in the combination, قصب الجیب. Abbas Iqbal[93] has given the meaning of قصب الجیب as نیشکر. Thus the phrase would mean: "His words are like sugar and people take it as sugar".

This too has no sense at all.

Dr. Khalid Rahbar[94] has summarised Dr. Khanlari's explanation in the *Majalla-i-Sukhan*[95] as under :-

1) In some copies it is قصب الجیب.
2) In Abdul Azim Qarib's ed. it is قسب الجیب which means a kind of date palm having some sweetness.
3) In some lexicons it means:
   a) a kind of date, less attractive.

b) a kind of sugar.

c) a kind of sweetmeat.

4) But I would suggest this reading:

قسب و جنیب حدیثش که همچو شکر می خورند

This suggestion is based on the explanation of the words of Midani's السامی فی الاسامی as under:-

القسب خرمائی که در دهن از هم شود

جنیب ضروب من التمر

while in some lexicons the two words have been explained as follows:-

الجنیب = تمرجید

القسب = ردی التمر

Thus the words as used by Sa'di would mean خرمای بیمزه و خورمای شیرین equivalent to رطب و یابس and غث و سمین. The sentence would mean:-

His writings, sweet or otherwise, are taken as sugar and this is all due to the favour of the patron.

The explanation is convincing but so far it has not been confirmed by any copy of the *Gulistan*, whether old or new.

پیسه و نهالی

The third story of the 1st chapter of the *Gulistan* contains a *qit'a*:

تا مرد سخن نگفته باشد | عیب و هنرش نهفته باشد

هر بیشه گمان مبر که خالی است | شاید که پلنگ خفته باشد

There is a joke about it. Some one who had the second line in his memory read the line as under:-

هر بیشه گمان مبر که خالی است | شاید که پلنگ خفیه باشد

upon this some one read the complete *qit'a* in this way:-

تا مرد سخن نگفیه باشد | عیب و هنرش نهفیه باشد

هر بیشه گمان مبر که خالی است | شاید که پلنگ خفیه باشد

The critical editions of *Gulistan* published in Iran have this reading of the second line:

هر پیسه گمان مبر نهالی | شاید که پلنگ خفته باشد

And this reading is so popular that in the *Farhang-i-Mu'in* the same is quoted to illustrate the meaning of the word پیسه. The wor پیسه means pie-bald[96] covered with patches or spots of two colours specially with white and black while the word نهالي means a species

of small carpet with a short pile, a mattress for sleeping on, a cushion.[97] The line would mean thus:-
"Every pie-bald should not be taken for a mattress or (spotted) carpets: perhaps it may be a sleeping tiger."

The only objection against this interpretation is that the mattress or carpet is spread in houses while the tiger is associated with bush, shrub, forest and mountain having nothing to do with domestic houses. As such how one should think of a tiger only by seeing a pie-bald or spotted carpet or mattress or cushion spread in a domestic house. I would, therefore, prefer the common reading:

هر بیشه گمان مبر که خالی است

شهر وا

A story of the third chapter of the *Gulistan* has this *qit'a*:

وجود مردم دانا مثال زر طلیست
که هر کجا برود قدر و قیمتش دانند
بزرگ زادهٔ نادان بشهروا ماند
که در دیار غریبش به هیچ نستانند

The lines mean that a wise man is like pure gold and its value and worth would be recognised wherever he goes. But an unwise even of noble birth resembles *Shahrawa* which has no value in a foreign land. The word شهروا has been explained in the *Farhang-i-Mu'in* thus:

شهروا Shah-rava (قس، شهر روا) پولی که ارزش حقیقی آن کمتر از بهای رسمی آن باشد و بنا برین در غیر محلی که ضرب شده ارزش چندان ندارد، بزرگ زادهٔ نادان به شهروا ماند الخ-

There is another word شهر روا which is explained in the said lexicon as follows:-

شهر روا زر و سیم رایج و سره
نقرهٔ ما اگرچه شهر رواست پیش نقاد رای او شد رد (شرف شفروه)

In the *Lughat Nama* on the basis of the *Burhan-i-Qati* and *Ghiyasul Lughat* a story is recorded thus;

A king minted a base coin and called it *Shah-rava* and effected its currency by force. It was, however, not accepted in the other lands. This story seems to be baseless and has been invented to illustrate the meaning of the word. In the *Lughat Nama* it has been added that the story is borrowed from that associated with چاو. The latter was a paper currency which Gyakhatu wanted to introduce in

Azarbaijan and Tabriz but people did not accept it and consequently withdrawn. Ibn Yamin says:-

روان شد چو زر مو کب شیخ عهد رهـی نـاروان مـانـند چـاو

In the *Farhang-i-Nizam* شهروا has been called the short form of شهر روا. However, شهر روا is a technical word explained as follows:-

سیم و زر رایج و سره (برهان)

زر و سیم که در شهر رایج باشد (جهانگیری و رشیدی)

زر و سیم سره مقابل شهروا (ناظم الاطبا)

Then follow the verses of Shafrawah and Zuhuri :

زر و سیم رایج و سره الخ

تـا سکه به نام شمس از لعل زدند آهن ز طلا رواتر گشته است

But in both these verses the word شهـــر روا has been used in the sense of genuine and pure gold and not coin.

The confusion is that when شهروا is an abbreviation of شهر روا, its use in opposite meanings is unexplainable. The word شهـــــر روا may mean pure gold and شهــــروا, which is a short form, may mean impure coin. The other point is that no other line except Sa'di's line is clear but the word شهر روا is still a puzzle.

In presenting this paper my object is not to create an impression that Sa'di's style is intricate and the *Gulistan* is full of intricate problems of history unexplainable to the average reader. The object is to make out a case that various problems of such a popular work as *Gulistan* need further investigation and research. The other point is to show that the book though simple and straightforward has ample material for the scholars as well. This explains as to why the book is equally recommended for the students of junior classes as well as for the scholars and students of senior and advanced courses. The other point is that the solution of these problems is like to add to the interest in the study of the book.

Foot Notes

1. *Shaddul Izar*, Tehran, 1328, p. 218, *Shiraz nama*, p. 82.
2. One of them was Sadrud-Din Ushnahi whose scholarship has been praised by Wassaf, and also in the *Shiraz nama*, p. 82. His father Tajud-Din was like him a scholar and poet. The writer has collected their verses from the translation of the *Awariful Maarif* by Ismail b. Abdul Mumin b. Abu Mansur in 665 (British Museum Ms. No. 79862, pp, 8-10, 56-57 etc. Another source

of Tajud-Din Ushnahi's verses is the anthology of the Majlis Library, Tehran No. 900, pp. 360-368, where he has been styled as ملك العلماء و الواعظين.

3. The best sources for Amidud-Din Abu Nasr As'ad b. Nasr Fali Abzari, the learned Wazir of Atabak Sa'd b. Zangi (d. 623) are *Tarikh-i-Wassaf* and *Shiraz nama* besides شرح قصيدۀ اشكندوانيه by Qutub-Din Fali (d. 712 or 721), تحفة العرفان في ذكر سيد الاقطاب by Ibnul Futi (d. 723) and تلخيص مجمع الالقاب حواشي شدالازار by Mirza Muhammad Qazwini, pp. 517-527 and اوزان.
4. One *rubai* is quoted in the *Shiraz nama*, p. 81 and the letter written by the Wazir himself from the prison is reproduced by Mirza Muhammad in the Hawashi of the *Shaddul Izar*, pp. 523-26.
5. It has been printed at the end of معلقات in Tehran, 1272 A.H., and in Europe in 1893 by the French Orientalist Prof. Huwart.
6. A very old manuscript of شرح قصيدۀ اشكندوانيه by قطب الدين فالي transcribed in 734 is preserved in the library of Astan-i-Quds, Mashhad and Mirza Muhammad Qazwini has reproduced its valuable preface in the حواشي شد الازار, pp. 518-520.
7. See *Shaddul Izar*, p. 273, and also *Shiraz nama*, p. 86.
8. See *Shadd*, p. 273 n.
9. See *Shiraz nama*, p. 86.
10. It was built by Tarkan Khatun to commemorate her son,.Atabek Azud ud-Din Muhammad b. Sa'd. For Tarkan Khatun's career see *Shaddul Izar*, p. 273 n, 1,2.
11. Abash Khatun, the daughter of Atabek Sa'd and Tarkan Khatun was married to Manku Timur, son of Hulaku Khan, see *Shiraz nama*, pp. 89, 93-94, *Sa'dinama* by Muhammad Qazwini, pp. 10-16.
12. i.e., dedication.
13. i.e., Sa'd b. Abu Bakr b. Sa'd etc.
14. See also ممدوحين سعدى, pp, 35-37.
15. Eqbal, ed. Teheran, p. 20, Tehran, 1336/p. 85.
16. *Jami-ut Towarikh* by Rashidud-Din Fazlullah. Ibnul Asir, years 612, 614; *Sirat Jalalud-Din*, *Naswi*, p. 13, *Juwaini*, v. 2, p. 121, v. 3, p. 243; *Asarul Bilad*, pp. 201, 205; *Tarikh-i-Abdul Fida*; 3:143; *Rauzatus Safa and Habibus-Siyar*, Khwarazmshahiyan, etc.
17. Hawashi-i-*Jahangusha*, v. 3, p. 414.
18. Only Ibnul Asir claims that he was his brother's slave واحد باقي اوزبك فسلمه الى اغلمش اخيه, Egypt ed. v. 12, p. 113, Uzbek's brother was Qutbud- Din Abu Bakr who was tho patron of Zahir Faryabi and Nizami Ganjawi, whose *Sharaf nama* is dedicated to him. (See, Safa: *Hist. of Iranian Lit.*, v. II, PP. 756, 805-6.)
19. Raverty, trans. of the *Tabaqat*, v. 1, p. 172n.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 296n.
21. Raverty, trans. of the *Tabaqat* v. 1, p. 173, Ala ud-Din Khwarazmshah had died in 1018-19, four years before this event.
22. V. 12, p. 13.
23. Safa : v. 2, pp. 756, 805-6.
24. See, Hawashi-i-*Jahangusha*, v. 3, pp. 414-15.
25. He was the son of Muhammad Jahan Pahlavan. When Jalal-ud-Din invaded the city of Tabriz, Uzbek had left and placed his consort in charge.

She was greatly impressed by Jalalud-Din who consented to marry her. When Uzbek heard of it, he died heart broken in 622. Raverty, *Tabaqat*, trans., pp. 172n., 296n. This fact has been added by Raverty and is not mentioned in the *Tabaqat* itself.

26. In some histories the date is 611, see حواشی جہانگشا v. 3, pp. 415-16.
27. *Ibnul Athir*, v. 12, p. 113., also حواشی جہانگشا .
28. During the period of 25 years from 590 to 614, the government of بلاد عراق عجم constituting Ray, Hamadan, Isfahan and some other cities of جبال, was run by the slaves of the Atabeks of Azarbaijan named as under:

(592–600 A.H.)	۱- کوکچہ مملوک اتابک پہلوان محمد ایلدگز
(591–595 A.H.)	۲- میاحق مملوک خوارزمشاہ تکشی
(600–608 A.H.)	۳- اینغمش مملوک اتابک پہلوان
(608–611 A.H.)	۴- سکلی مملوک اتابک ازبک بن ایلدگز
(611 or 12 to 614)	۵- اغلمش مملوک اتابک ازبک

(حواشی جہانگشا ج ۲).

29. Naswi, سیرۃ جلال الدین منکبرنی, p. 13.
30. See حواشی جہانگشای جوینی v. 3, pp, 415-16.
31. *Jahangusha, 2: F. 21, Rauzatu's-Safa*, 4: 139 etc.
32. *Ibnul Asir*, v. 12, p. 118.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Asrarul Bilad*, p. 251.
35. *Ibnul Asir*, v. 12, p. 121.
36. In the شیراز نامہ p. 75, it is stated that Khwarazmshah was first defeated but Atabek was suddenly separated from his horse and was caught by a Khwarazm soldier. But *Tabaqat* explains that Sa'di mistook the Khwarzmshahi army as the Uzbek army whose chamberlain hurled his horse to ground and was about to kill him. But on Sa'd's request he was brought before خوارزمشاہ who pardoned him on some conditions.
37. *Shiraz nama*, p. 75.
38. Hawashi of *Jahangusha*, v. III, p. 416.
39. In compounds like ملك زوزن joined with کسرۂ اضافت, some time the کسرہ is dropped specially when it happens to be a name such as شاہ جہان، نورجہان etc. But I am not sure whether in the term ملك زوزن the کسرہ is dropped or not. In the English translation of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* by Raverty (v. I, p. 314), it is translated as Malik of Zauzan, while in the term خواجۂ زوزن occurring in the Persian text of the *Tabaqat*, the two words are joined with a اضافت . It is likewise not clear whether in زوزن there is a long vowel or a diphthong. However, in deference to the opinions of the European scholars I transliterate it as Zauzan and not as Zuzan, Zozan or Zowzan. (For various readings see, فرهنگ معین، برهان قاطع، منتهی الدر.
40. *Lughat Nama-i-Dahkhuda* under زوزن.
41. *Faraang--Mo'in* under زوزن. Zauzan was an important cultural centre of Khurasan in the medieval time and various notable personalities of Islamic learning had resided there. For details see the *Lughat Nama* and *Farhang Mo'in*.
42. Persian Text edited by Habibi, v. i, p. 314.
43. Raverty says that it is quite wrong to suggest that the throne of Kirman was

given to ملك زوزن. He was only the Governor. Trans. p. 283 no. 8.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 177 n. 6.
45. It is incorrect. The correct date is 613.
46. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. English translation, p. 258 n.
47. *Tabaqat*, English translation, p. 282.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 281; n. 5.
49. From this it follows that Malik Zawzan's son, Izzud-Din, who was head of the government of Kirman province after his father's death, was not in office when Ruknud-Din was appointed. Raverty, *Tabaqat*, trans., p. 282 n. 7.
50. *Ibid*, p 283 n. 9.
51. For details see the *Rauzatul Jannat*, *Lughat Nama-i-Dehkhuda* and *Farhang-i-Mu'in*, etc.
52. pp. 63-65.
53. Mirza Muhammad Qazwini has stated that some copies of *Gulistan* have شمس الدین ابوالفرج بن جوزی which is incorrect on the ground that شمس الدین was the *laqab* of Abul Faraj b. Jauzi's sister's son whoseKuniya was Abul Muzaffar. The reading of such copies is absolutely incorrect. (*Jahangusha*, حواشی و اضافات, pp. 465-466). Shamsud-Din Abu Muzaffar Yusuf b, Quz Ughlu (582-644) was the author of تذکرۂ خواص الایمه and مرآۃ الزمان فی تاریخ الاعیان(Please see *Farhang-i-Muin* under ابن الجوزی); see also نامه های قزدینی به تقی زاده, pp. 132-140.
54. For his life see ابن خلکان, v. i., p. 302, حوادث الجامعه, pp. 7, 19, 22, 59, etc., مختصر طبقات الحنابله, Ed.Damascus, p. 50, and also *Jahangusha-i-Juwaini* (*op. cit*).
55. *Jahangushai Juwaini*, v. 3, p. 466.

بنا برین سعدی در حین وفات ابن الجوزی مذکور قطعاً یا هیچ متولد نشده بود یا اگر
هم شده بود طفلی بغایت خرد سال بوده ..... مگر آنکه برای سعدی چنانکه در افواه
مشهور است عمر خارج از عادت صد و بیست ساله قائل شویم که فی الواقع هیچ
دلیلی که ادنی اطمینان بدان توان نمود بر آن قائم نیست۔

56. See حوادث الجامعه pp. 55, 79, 83, 101, etc., مختصر طبقات الحنابله p. 59, *Jahangusha* v. 3, p. 465.
57. He was born in 580 and killed in 656 A.H., see *Jahangusha*, v. 3, pp. 463-64.
58. For his life see *Jahangusha*, *op. cit.*, حوادث الجامعه pp. 319-20 etc., *al-Fakhri*, p. 453, *Jami'ut Tawarikh pp.* 232, 236 etc. According to the ذیل جهانگشا v. 3, p 293 and *Jami'ut Tawarikh*, p. 310 he was not present in Baghdad in 656. Hence the question of his being killed does not arise. His two brothers were, no doubt, killed in 656 (see *Jahangusha, op. cit.*).
59. See حوادث الجامعه p. 328.
60. The 23rd letter نامه های قزوینی به تقی زاده, pp. 132-140.
61. Vol. III, pp. 463-66.
62. *Tabaqat*, English translation, p. 254.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 267-268, see also note 2, p. 268.
64. *Tabaqat*, p 279.
65. For Sultan Jalalud-Din's career see the *Tabaqat*, translation, pp. 285-299.
66. Raverty, *Tabaqat*, translation, p. 298 n.

67. *Tabaqat*, translation text, pp. 293-99.
68. Mirza Mohammad Qazwini has given a number of such cases in which the son is popularly known by the name of his father such as منصور حلاج who was حسین بن منصور حلاج.
69. His name was Ali b. Il Arsalan who played significant role during the reigns of Mahmud and Masud. See *Baihaqi*, pp. 1, 4, 7, 8, 11-13, etc, also *Zainul Akhbar*, pp. 193-196.
70. The slaves were the most powerful group under the Ghaznavids, and Baktaghdi was their chief. Ayaz was also one of the leaders but occupied a rank lower than that of Baktaghdi. He, however, wielded much influence and it was he who took the initiative of meeting Amir Masud at Nishapur at the head of the big contingent of the غلامان سرای (household slaves). Baktaghdi was imprisoned in 431A.H. in one of the Indian fortresses along with Ali Daya and Sabashi, the Hajib-i-Buzurg (*Zainul Akhbar*, p. 203).
71. According to Raverty, *Tabaqat*, trans. p. 102, Abu Najm Ayaz Wimaq or Imaq died in 449 A.H. under فرخ زاد.
72. His full name was Ali Abdullah who was made the Commander-in-Chief by Masud in 423 A.H. but was imprisoned in 431 A.H.
73. Even Farrukhi has referred to a fierce battle which Ayaz had with the loyalists, in a *qasida* in praise of Amir Ayaz.
74. Baihaqi too has given quite similar statement:-

    پس از رسیدن ما به نیشاپور رسول خلیفه در رسید با عهد ولوا — و از اتفاق نادر سرهنگ علی عبدالله و ابوالنجم ایاز و نوشتگین خاصه خادم از غزنین اندر رسیدند با بیشتر غلام سرای و نامها رسید سوی ما پوشیده از غزنین که حاجب علی بن ایل ارسلان زعیم الحجاب و بکتغدی حاجب سالار غلامان بددگی نموده الخ۔

    Raverty, (*Tabaqat*, trans. I, 89 n. 8) on the basis of the *Tazkiratul Muluk* adds: "Accordingly, Amir Ayaz with the ghulams or slaves-the regular troops or guards as they may be termed-combined to espouse his (Masud's) cause, entered the royal stables, mounted the best horses therein, and set out to join Masud, who was then at Isfahan. They joined him at Nishapur on his advance towards Gheznin by way of Hirat. On this Muhammad, with all his followers, set out towards Herat in order to submit to his brother. However, this last part does not seem to be correct for Baihaqi and others state that a strong contingent was sent in pursuit of the forces of Ayaz which was crushed by the latter."
75. p. 264.
76. عطسه means تربیت یافته.
77. *Diwan-i-Farrukhi*, pp. 163-65.
78. The 2nd anecdote, II Maqala.
79. For him see *Baihaqi*, pp. 1, 11-13, 50-52, 55-62, 570 etc.
80. This is the 2nd anecdote of the 2nd Maqala.
81. *Tarikh-i-Sistan*, p. 264.
82. For his achievements see the *Tarikh-i-Sistan*, pp. 215, 246, 257-60, 264-65, 273-75, 278-90, etc.
83. He writes in a *qasida* :

    هدهد چو کنیزکی است دوشیزه ‎ ‎ ‎ ‎ با زلف ایاز و دیدهٔ فرخی

    (Diwan, p. 108)
84. p. 171.
85. Per. trans., Ed. Habibi, pp. 28-29.

86. *Fazail-i-Balkh*, p. 28 n.
87. *Qanun*, p. 43.
88. *Sa'di*, p. 167.
89. *See Diwan-i-Siraji*, ed. by Prof. Nazir Ahmad, Aligarh, 1972, pp. 481-483, also see یاد داشت های قزوینی, V. 4, pp. 12-13.
90. *Gulistan*, pp. 3-4.
91. *Diwani-i-Siraji*, p. 319.
92. *Diwani-i-Anwari*, p. 18.
93. *Farhang*, pp. 149-150.
95. دورۂ چہارم pp. 725-28.
96. *Steingass*.
97. *Ibid.*
98. Dr. Khalil Rahbar also prefers the same reading, see *Sa'di*, p. 153.

AN OLD PERSIAN TREATISE OF THE BAHMANI PERIOD

A small treatise in Persian covering fifty four pages, perhaps without a specific title, but called[1] *Risala dar Siyar-i-Shah Ni'mtullah Wali*, on the life and career of the famous and prolific Sufi writer Amir Ni'matullah Kirmani (d. 834 A.H.), was written by one 'Abdul 'Aziz b. Sher Mulk[2] (Malik) b. Muhammad Wa'izi in the Deccan and dedicated to the Bahmani Sultan 'Alaud-Din Ahmad II, who ruled from 839 A.H. to 862 A.H. The treatise was composed as a biography of Shah Ni'matullah, as is evident from the following[3] words:

تاریخ عهد دولت خلافت حضرت معلی بر سبیل سیر مندرج گردانیده و کلیات اخبار را باندراج رسانیده تا مشتاقان رطب اخبار ذات وصفات و افعال و اعمال حضرت معلی رحمة الله علیه روی بسوی این شجرهٔ مرغوب ثمر باثمار مطلوب که اصلش اعتقاد وفر وعش انقیاد است و ثمرات معرفت اخبار و مراعات آثار خوارق و کرامات حضرت معلی بهره ای بس شگرف برشمارند ولذات مودت از کاس محبت آن محبوب دلها، مطلوب اولیا امیر نور الحق و الدین نعمت الله بکام جان دریابند و از این مشرب که کل اناس مشربهم، بتقدیر باری عز اسمه مقدر است، فائق گشته بنوشا نوش اقداح زلال بهرهٔ حب بشتابند،

"The history of the period of the imperial dignity of his exalted highness has been recorded by way of a biography and all facts have been written down in order that the seeker of facts about the self and attributes and about the acts and the deeds of his exalted highness (may God bestow His blessings on him), may turn their faces toward this coveted tree laden with lovely fruits whose roots are faith and branches supplication; they may reckon fruits of knowledge of facts and observation of the traces of the miraculous powers of his exalted self as an extraordinary fortune; and may relish according to their hearts' wish pleasure of love from the cup of affection of that beloved of heart, the object of saints, Amir Nurul Haqq wa'd-Din Ni'matullah and having profited from this beverage-each man has his own way (*Mashrab*) as ordained by the Divine decree - may hasten to drink the cups of pure water of fortune of his love."

The Author:

The author of the *Risala* calls himself 'Abdul 'Aziz b. Sher Mulk (Malik) b. Muhammad Wa'izi, but he has given no details about himself or his family. 'Abdur-Razzaq Kirmani who composed a similar work in 911 A.H., while[4] frequently quoting from Wa'izi, has mentioned his name twice[5]:

فرید الافاضل عبد العزیز بن شیر ملک الافاضل الادیب عبدالعزیز بن شیر ملک و
اعظی

One Sher Mulk (Malik), mentioned by Firishta[6] and Tabataba, the author of the *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*,[7] as one of the illustrious nobles and generals of Sultan Shihabud-Din Ahmad Shah Bahmani, who had conquered some of the important fortresses and who was ultimately put to death by the Sultan, may be identical with Wa'izi's father but nothing is known definitely in this regard.

'Abdul 'Aziz Wa'izi was a scholar well versed in Islamic learning which is fully borne out by his aptly and abundantly quoting from the Qur'an and the Traditions.

Dedication:

Wa'izi wanted to present the *Risala* to Sultan 'Alaud-Din Ahmad Shah, who was a great devotee of Shah Ni'matullah and his family. The author observes:[8]

"خصوصاً برای پیشکش سلطان الامراء العرفا، صاحب سریرسخا، مالک ممالک وفا، قابض ممالک عرفان، ضابط اقلیم احسان، ملکدار عرصات حلم، ملک ران دیار علم، گنج بخش و گنجینه پرداز، حسن پذیر و قبح انداز المستنصر بالله القوی الغنی السلطان ابن السلطان ابو المظفر علاء الدنیا و الدین احمد شاه ابن احمد شاه الولی البهمنی خلد الله ملکه و ابد علی العالمین رافته)"

"Specially for the purposes of presentation to the king of the nobles, the proof of the gnostics, the master of the throne of generosity, the possessor of the lands of fidelity, the conqueror of the dominion of knowledge, the administrator of the land of beneficence, the lord of the regions of forbearance, the emperor of the land of science, treasure dispensing, virtue accepting, evil rejecting, aid asking from the Lord Almighty, the Sultan, son of Sultan, Abu-Muzaffar Alaud-Duniya wad-Din Ahmad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah al Wali al-Bahmani, may God perpetuate his kingdom and favours on the people of the world."

Reasons for writing the book :

The reasons for writing the treatise have been summed up in the introduction of the treatise in these words:[9]

"اما بعد میگوید بیچاره اضعف العباد احقر الناس راجی عنایت حافظی عبدالعزیز بن شیر ملک بن محمد واعظی، هرچه از استماع بسی فضائل و خوارق حضرت معلاء سیدالسادات ..... امیر نور الحق والشرع والدین نعمت الله نور الله مرقده (و از قضیهٔ دوستی دوستان حق و دوستی دوستان او تعالی حکمی و احبی و جملهٔ اهل نقیاد را امری لازمی است خاصه برطائفه طلاب و متابعان و ریزه چینان خوان هدایت ..... کاری واجبی است) مدتی بار خاطر ضعیف بر نبشتن سیر حضرت شاه ولی امیر نور الحق و الدین نعمت الله رحمة الله راغب همی بود."

"Now says the weakest of people and the humblest of men, the interceder of the favours of the Almighty, 'Abdul 'Aziz b. Sher Mulk (Malik) b. Muhammad Wa'izi. After hearing manifold excellences and miraculous powers of his exalted highness Saiyid-us-Sadat Amir Nurul Haqq wash-Shar' wad-Din Ni'matullah, may God illuminate his tomb, (friendship with friends of God and love for His lovers make it (writing a biography) obligatory and incumbent on all his followers; it is specially biding on the class of seekers, disciples and gatherers of bread-crumbs from the table of his guidance), for a time the heart of this humble was set at writing the biography of Hazrat Shah Wali Amir Nurul Haq wad-Din, may God bless him."

Sources :

The author had facilities in collecting material for the biography of the saint from a number of his close disciples and associates, some of whom had lived ten to twelve years with the saint in his monastery. Wa'izi states:[10]

"چونکه درین وقت مریدان را بسا محامد ذات و صفات و افعال حضرت شاه ولی از اخبار مخبران صادق و صادقان واثق که بعضی از ایشان دهگان و دوازدهگان سال عمر خویش در خانقاه عالی حضرت شاه ولی گذرانیده -- وبعضی چندگان شهور سنوات و چندان ایام و اوقات درظل بارگاه ولایت وزیر سایهٔ سایه بان هدایت آن شهنشاه سالکان آرمیده بودند، بتحقیق اصغا نمود."

"Since these days his pupils had opportunities to correctly hear many qualities of the self and attributes and of deeds of Hazrat Shah Wali from the trustworthy narrators and sincere historians, some of whom had spent ten to twelve years of their lives in the

monastery of Shah Wali, while some had lived for some months, years and even days under the shade of the patronage and under the canopy of the guidance of that emperor of the seekers."

The important disciples whom Wa'izi quotes frequently are Saiyid 'Alaud-Din Mahdi Tabrizi and Shaikh Nizamud-Din Ahmad Faruqi *alias* Shaikh Khojan. He contacted both of them who had been in India. Of Shaikh Khojan's stay Wa'izi himself has made a mention, while to Saiyid Mahdi's arrival in[11] India 'Abdur-Razzaq Kirmani testifies.[12] According to the latter authority, the Saiyid came to India from Syria where he had collected many volumes of Shah Ni'matullah's works. He could however collect three volumes while in India, which were subsequently consulted by Wa'izi. About Shaikh Khojan, Wa'izi supplies the following information:

"From Yazd Hazrat Shah Wali came to Kirman and took his abode at Mahan. During this time the saint (Shah Wali) sent a head-dress from Mahan admitting him into the order of his disciples to Shaikhzada, the choice of the family Shaih Nizamul-Millat wad-Din *alias* Shaikh Khojan Faruqi at the auspicious town Ahsanabad, who reckons his lineage from the side of his grand-father to the Qutbul Awlia, Hariqul Mahabbat Makhdum Shaikh Farid ul Haqq wad-Din, may God sanctify his soul, while from the side of his maternal grandfather to the King of the Kings 'Alaud-Din Hasan Shah Bahmani. The Shaikh later on did many favours to Shaikh Khojan."

In this connexion the following points need elucidation:

1. Nizamud-Din Faruqi *alias* Shaikh Khojan was residing in Ahsanabad-Gulbarga. Perhaps till then the capital was not transferred to Muhammadabad-Bidar.[13]
2. By Shaikh Faridul Haqq wad-Din the author only means the most reputed Sufi Saint Shaikh Faridud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar of Ajodhan (d. 664 A.H.). 'Alaud-Din Hasan Shah Bahmani (748-785 A.H.) was the founder of the Bahmani dynasty. It is obvious that the Sultan married one of his daughters to an offspring of Hazrat Farid Ganj-Shakar and in this way Shaikh Khojan Faruqi reckons his pedigree from both the *silsilas*.
3. Though the exact date of Shah Ni'matullah's sending the fillet to wear under the head-dress for Shaikh Khojan is not known, yet since the saint is stated to have spent his last[14] 25 years at

Mahan in Kirman, from where the present was despatched, it may nevertheless be calculated that Shaikh Khojan received the gift long after 809 A.H. Another point to be noted is that just after the coronation of Sultan Ahmad Shah in 825 and the death of Hazrat Saiyid Gesu Daraz a few weeks later, Shaikh Khojan along with Qazi Musa and Malikush- Sharq Qalanqur Khan went to Shah Ni'matullah Wali at Kirman.[15] Shaikh Khojan, the leader of the deputation, was then enlisted as one of the disciples of Shah Wali.[16] From this it is concluded that Shaikh Khojan's admittance into the order of Shah Wali's disciples took place between 810 and 825 A.H.

'Abdul 'Aziz Wa'izi has mentioned Shaikh Khojan twice[17] as *Makhdum Zada* which implies that Wa'izi himself was somehow connected with the Shaikh's family which seems to be a family of saints.

Contents of the Risala :

The treatise is divided into an introduction and the following seven chapters:

Chapter I : The birth and the line of spiritual pedigree of Shah Ni'matullah (pp. 274-276).

Chapter II : His childhood, early education and training, and youth, (pp. 281-284).

Chapter III : Qualities of human nature and the indication of his maturity (pp. 281-284).

Chapter IV : Advancement in age, diversity of affairs, absorption in occupation and grades of dignity and authority (pp. 284-290).

Chapter V : The order of his vicegerency (خلافت) and related matters (pp. 290-308).

Chapter VI : His learning, works and miraculous performances (pp. 309-311).

Chapter VII : His spiritual advancement, miraculous powers, line of pedigree and last days and death (pp. 311-332).

The author has given the name of each chapter in a particular way.

سطور کیفیت ولادت و شجرۂ نسب سیادت الخ

Under chapter I he mentions the place of birth (Halab, Alleppo) and three different dates of birth, *viz.*, Thursday, 22nd

Rajab, 730 A.H.; 12th Rabi' I, 730 A.H.; Monday, 14th Rabi' 1, 731. Of these the last seems to be correct. Then Wa'izi quotes the Shah's own poem giving his spiritual pedigree:

نعمة الله ام و ز آل رسول   محرم عارفان ربانی

ظهور خوارق ایام صغر و تحصیل علوم الخ

Under Chapter II Wa'izi says that the saint composed the following quatrain at the age of only three years:[18]

مرا علمی که اندر سینه دادند   یقین می دان که آن درسی ندادند
مرا سه ساله حالی شد میسر   که شیخ چله را درسی ندادند

"Know it for certain that no lesson has been given for the knowledge stored in my heart; at three I have attained a position not granted even to a mature person of thirty."

When the Shaikh grew older he studied under the following teachers:

Shaikh Zakiud-Din Shirazi	:	Elementary courses
Shaikh Shamsud-Din Makki	:	Rhetoric
Shaikh 'Abdullah Yafa'i	:	Sufism
Saiyid Jalalud-Din Khwarazmi	:	Qur'anic Sciences.

He went to Mecca at the age of 24 and stayed there for seven years with his teacher Shaikh 'Abdullah Yafa'i. Thence he returned to Samarqand.

فتور او صاف بشریت و بر آمدن علم دولت شیخوخیت

Under Chapter III the author says that the saint first took his abode in Samarqand, but at the suggestion of Amir Timur he subsequently moved to Shahr-i-sabz, a town at a distance of two *manzils* from Samarqand. There he constructed a house, a mosque and a tank called Hauz-i-Shakar. The saint observed his *chillas* on the three hillocks of the region called Koh-i-nur, Koh-i-Tauba, Koh-i-Malikdar.

عبور سیلاب اثناء مراحل و منازل و جزایر تلوین و استغراق بحر اشغال الخ

In chapter IV the author goes on to say that the saint left for Hirat and married the daughter of Saiyid Hamza Husaini Harawi. After some time he left Hirat and settled at Koh Banan (Kobanan), where his first son Mirza Khalilullah was born in 775 A.H. for which occasion Shah Ni'matullah composed a *qit'a* beginning with:

ازقضای خدای عز و جل   حی قیوم قادر سبحان

Subsequently the saint proceeded to Yazd and then to Kirman and finally decided to settle down at Mahan, a town in Kirman, where he spent the last twenty-five years of his life and where he is buried.

امور خلافت و تصرف و ولایت وعطف اذن دست بیعت بهدایت

In chapter V, 'Abdul 'Aziz gives the *silsala* of the six saints who were the spiritual guides of Shah Ni'matullah's teacher Shaikh 'Abdullah Yafa'i, thereby covering the names of all the important saints of each *silsila*. That is why the author himself calls it a biography of the various grades of saints:

چنانچه تذکرهٔ خلافت مشایخ طبقات رحمة الله علیهم اجمعین مشرح در تحریر آورده شود۔

This is followed by a description of the saint's daily routine: his presence in the musical assemblages in which he used to sit facing the Qibla and in which flute and drum were played and *usul-i-dastak* was observed. Then the author proceeds to state the various rules observed there. For example, people who came from outside were the saint's guests for three days and on the fourth day, when they left the monastery, they were provided with all the necessary provisions, including cash. Then a description of his dress is given which is followed by a code of conduct for his disciples and pupils with the mention of whose names the chapter concludes. This is the longest and the most significant chapter of the treatise.

شعور علوم و تصانیف و تالیفات و ظهور آثار کرامات الخ

In the 6th chapter the author gives a long list of the saint's writings followed by a personal observation of Saiyid Mahdi who had thousands of the saint's treatises compiled in a number of volumes in Syria out of which he could bring three volumes containing 544 treatises as detailed below:

Vol. I	340	treatises
Vol. II	154	"
Vol. III	50	"

In the 7th chapter 'Abdul 'Aziz gives an account of the miraculous deeds of the saint, one of which relates to the Bahmani Sultan, Shihabad-Din Ahmad Shah Wali. It is related that while only a prince he saw in a dream that Shah Ni'matullah Wali put the crown of royalty on his head. Shortly after this dream the Shah

sent him a personal letter blessing him with the attainment of sovereignty which later on came to be true. Wa'izi's words[19] are :

"هم در ایام عهد خانی افضل السلاطین سلطان العارفین حضرت معلا امیر را در واقعه دید که گوئی حضرت امیر معلا بر سر مبارک حضر افضل السلاطین تاج شاهی بدست مبارک خود داشتند و تمکین سلطنت بخشید ند و بعد چند روزی از آن واقعه که حضرت امیر بن حضرت افضل السلاطین نبشته فرستادند و در آن بظاهر نفس دادند حضرت افضل السلاطین فرمان آن شهنشاه جهان توحید را در خاطر مطهره خود گره بست و بدان بشارت مستبشر گشته بانشراح برجست و بعد اخذ تاج خلافت و تمکن یافتن بر سریر سلطنت بجای بزرگان خود این معانی را اظهار همی فرمودند۔"

"Even during the time of his Khani (before he was crowned as a king) the most excellent of the monarchs, the king of saints saw Hazrat Amir (Ni'matullah Wali) in his dream as if the latter was placing the crown on the auspicious head of the most virtuous monarch (Ahmad Shah) with his own hand and blessed him with the dignity of kingship. Some time after this dream Hazrat Amir sent a letter to the Sultan in which he had perhaps referred to that. The Sultan had kept the *farman* of the Emperor of the world of unity in his mind and having rejoiced at the good news expected its realisation. On his attaining the monarchy and sitting on the throne of his great forefathers, he used to narrate this thing."

Before the close of the last chapter the author has referred to a meeting of the saint with Saiyid Sharif. The chapter closes with the list of the saint's sons and grandsons and lastly his death, which occurred on 22nd Rajab, 834 A.H. According to Saiyid Mahdi and Shaikh Khojan, Shah Ni'matullah's age at the time of his death was 105 years, but the author says that the exact age was 103 years, 4 months and 8 days.

About the dream of the prince it is to be noted that 'Abdur-Razzaq Kirmani gives almost the same version.[20] Muhammad Qasim Firishta has also mentioned[21] the dream with some historical background. During his closing years Sultan Firuz Shah Bahmani (800 A.H.- 825 A.H.), in a bid to have his son Hasan Khan crowned as a king, made an attempt to blind his brother, Prince Ahmad Khan-i-Khanan (subsequently Sultan Ahmad Shah Wali), who was blessed by Hazrat Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz to sit on[22] the Bahmani throne. The Prince having sensed the evil

design of the Sultan fled and raised a small army. But it was too small to have an engagement with the royal army which was on his pursuit. The Prince was much disturbed, and while resting under the shade of a tree, he saw a dream in which a crown was presented to him. Firishta says:

"در سایۂ درختی فرود آمده خواب کرد و در عالم رویا مشاهده نمود که شخصی در لباس درویشان تاج سبزی دوازده ترك بر کف دست گذاشته بجانب اومی آید۔ احمدخان استقبال کرده سلام کرد و آن درویش شرائط تهنیت بجا آورده تاج را برسر اونهاد و گفت این تاج شاهی است که یکی از مشایخ گوشه نشین برای تو فرستاده است۔"

"While resting under the shade of a tree he slept and saw in his dream a man in the garb of a *darwish* coming towards him with a green crown with twelve peaks in his hand. Ahmad Khan received and greeted him. The *darwish* having performed the formalities of greetings, placed the crown on his head and said, "This is a crown which one of the *mashaikh* living in retirement has sent for him."

This statement differs from those of Wa'izi and 'Abdur-Razzaq as, according to Firishta, Prince Ahmad did not see in his dream Shah Ni'matullah Kirmani putting a crown on his head. Firishta again speaks of a deputation sent by the Prince after he was crowned king, to Shah Ni'matullah who sent a similar crown he had seen in the dream through one of his disciples, Mulla Qutbud-Din Kirmani.[23] A deputation is also mentioned by the author of the *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*[24] whose description substantially differs from Firishta's narration. According to Firishta, the Sultan in order to get his admittance into the order of his disciples sent one of the saint's disciples called Shaikh Habibullah[25] Junaidi to Shah Ni'matullah Kirmani along with Mir Shamsud-Din Qummi and a few others. Shah Ni'matullah despatched with them one of his pupils named Mulla Qutbud-Din Kirmani to the Deccan, and no sooner did the Sultan see him than he exclaimed that he was the same person whom he had seen in his dream and who had given him a crown. Mulla Qutbud-Din delivered the message of the saint to the effect that he had kept the crown as a trust, and it was a fit occasion to entrust it to the Sultan. The author of the *Burhan-i-Ma'athir* has not mentioned the dream but he has narrated the deputation which was led for the same purpose by Shaikh Khojan

along with Qazi Musa, the teacher of Prince Mahmud, and Malikush-Sharq Qalanqur Khan during the 1st year of his reign and which returned with a *Kulah-i-Iradat* (Cap of Discipleship) and *Jama-i-Ijaza* (Robe of Approval) attesting to Sultan's admittance into the order of Shah Ni'matullah's disciples.

It is interesting to note that the letter covering the message, to the Sultan on the occasion of the presentation of the *Khirqa* formed the basis of a small treatise called رساله نسبت خرقه سلطان احمد شاه ابو المغازی البهمنی and a copy of it is still preserved in the British Museum No. Add. 16837, xv + 247.

***Treatise as a source work for 'Abdur-Razzaq's Risala*:**

The treatise was one of the oldest works on the life and teachings of the saint which has been abundantly utilised by subsequent writers. 'Abdur-Razzaq Kirmani, in his treatise, *Manaqib-i-Hazrat Shah Ni'matullah Wali*,[26] has referred to this treatise in the introduction thus:

چون در تذکره ای که فرید الافاضل عبد العزیز بن شیر ملک قبل ازین در هندوستان تصنیف و تالیف نموده بود الخ

This lends support to the theory that 'Abdul 'Aziz composed this treatise in India at Gulbarga, the previous capital of the Bahmanis.

Now I shall quote a few instances of Kirmani's indebtedness to 'Abdul 'Aziz Wa'izi, whose treatise has been termed *Tadhkira-i-Ula, Siyar-i-Ula, Tadhkira-i-Sabiq*, as against Sadidud-Din Nasrullah-Shirazi's[27] treatise, which is named *Tadhkira-i-Thani, Siyar-i-Thani, etc.*

(i) چنانچه جامع سیر اول الفاضل الادیب عبد العزیز بن شیر ملک واعظی آورده (p.24)

(ii) و جامع تذکرۂ اولی آورده که علم کلام الهی پیش سید جلال الدین خوارزمی بحث کرده اند (p. 30)

(iii) و جامع متاخر سیرت ۲۸ اورده که بعد از مراجعت از مکه بما ورا النهر نزول فرمودند و در شهر سبز که از سمرقند تا آنجا دو منزل است و بغایت مشهور است ساکن شدند و مسجدی بنا فرموده اند و جمعه در آن گزارده اند و حوضی پر از شکر کرده و مردمان از آن شربت آشامیده اند و آن را حوض شکر نامیده (p.57) وصاحب تذکرۂ اولی گفته که شیخ عبد الله یافعی زبیدی را از

(iv) شش کس از مشائخ خرقه رسیده و از ایشان کرامت پوشیده الخ (p. 65)

جامع سیر اولی آورده که حضرت شیخ کمال الدین خجندی که از اهل باطن
و حضور بوده الخ (p. 110)

(v) دیگر بعضی از خلفاء که جامع تذکرۂ سابق در سیر جمع نموده مسطور
می گردد۔ (vi)

Then follows a list of 34 disciples and pupils of Shah Ni'matullah of whom 24 are the same as found in 'Abdul 'Aziz's treatise; the following six are new:

1. Saiyid Shamsud-Din Herawi,
2. Shaikh Kamalud-Din Shirazi,
3. Saiyid Jalalud-Din Harewani,
4. Maulana Shaikh Arbeli,
5. Shaikh Shamsud-Din Khaki,
6. Maulana Haji Ikhtiyar Tafti.

The four names in which there is some difference are these:

'Abdur-Razzaq	*Wa'izi*
سید نظام الدین نبیرۂ صوفی احمد ترمدی که در شہر محمد آباد در عہد سلطان احمد شاہ مدرس بود[29]	صوفی احمد ترمدی (The name Sayid Nizamud-Din is missing)
سید علی سبزواری	سید علی شیروانی
شیخ ابوسعید بن سید نور الدین الایجی	سیدابو سعید بو داغی
شیخ محمود مورچہ گیر	سید محمد موجہ

The following names available in 'Abdul 'Aziz's treatise are missing from 'Abdur-Razzaq's book:

1. Saiyid Nizam,
2. Saiyid 'Ali, the elder brother of Nizam,
3. Saiyid Nizamud-Din Ahmad Shirazi,
4. Saiyid Minhajud-Din,
5. Khwaja 'Abdullah b. Khwaja Imam Isfahani,
6. Qazi Musa Muhammadabadi.

(vii) مولف سیر اولی از سید علاء الدین مہدی نقل کرده که "من
در شام سیصد و چہل رساله از آنحضرت جمع کرده بودم۔" و
در هند سه مجلد از مصنفات جمع نموده و فرموده که در مجلد
اول یکصدو پنجاه رساله است و در دوم شصت و چهار رساله و
در سیم پنجاه۔[30] (p. 114)

The author of the first biography (Wa'izi) as related from Saiyid 'Alaud-Din Mahdi, "I had collected Hazrat Ni'matullah's 340 treatises in Syria." And in India he had collected three volumes of his works: in the first volume there are 154 *risalas*, in the second 64 *risalas* and in the third 50 *risalas*. But this statement is in sharp contrast with what is found in the available treatise which is quoted[31] below:

"سید السادات سید مهدی می فرمایند که "من در شهر شام چند هزار رساله های حضرت معلای شاه ولی در چند جلود موجود داشتم، اینجا برابر خود آوردن امکان نیافتم، همانجا گذاشتم۔" اما در سه جلود تصنیفات و تالیفات نمودند و فرمودند که در این جلود پانصد و چهل و چهار رساله اند: در جلد اول سیصد و چهل رساله اند، در جلد دوم صد و پنجاه و چهار رساله و در جلد سیوم پنجاه رساله۔"

"Saiyidus-Sadat Mahdi observes: In Syria I had with me a few thousand *risalas* of his exalted highness in some volumes. It was not possible to bring (them) with me here; so I left them there. But he (Saiyid Mahdi) showed three volumes of his (the saint's) compositions with the remark that those volumes contained 544 *risalas*; the first volume contains 340 *risalas*, the second 154 *risalas* and the third fifty *risalas*.

The two statements differ in respect of the following points:

1. According to Wa'izi, Saiyid Mahdi had the volumes of Shah Ni'matullah's works in his possession in Syria; while according to Kirmani he had himself collected those volumes.
2. According to Wa'izi, Saiyid Mahdi had brought three volumes to India from Syria, while according to Kirmani he had collected three volumes in India.
3. There is a great difference between the two statements with regard to the total number of treatises and the number of *risalas* the first and the second volumes contained.

It would not be out of place to mention a few points of discrepancy between the list of books appearing in both these treatises:

'Abdul 'Aziz gives a list of 53 treatises of which 43 bear titles and 10 are without titles, while 'Abdur-Razzaq quotes 108 treatises, all bearing separate titles. Of the 43 treatises mentioned in the former work only one رسالۂ رموزات is not included in the latter work. But the titles of the following treatises differ widely:

'Abdur-Razzaq	'Adbul 'Aziz
رسالۂ صغار	رسالۂ صفا
رساله احتطاب (کذا)	رساله اخطاب
رسالۂ جنب، عربی	رسالۂ جنت عرفی
رسالۂ وجود شجرۂ نسب طیبۂ خود	رسالۂ وجود شجرۂ نسب خود
رساله اسم و رسم	رساله وسمی مرسم یعنی داغ

The editor Jean Aubin has referred to the discrepancy of only one of them, *viz.*, جنت عرفی (p. 311 n), without attempting to settle the text. The rest have not been taken notice of, though احتطاب could have been easily corrected.

With regard to رسالۂ وجود شجرۂ نسب طیبۂ خود as the title of one single treatise (No. 38 p. 115) is the result of some confusion on the part of the editor of the text, who was in a position to correct it on the basis of the list available in Wa'izi's treatise, in which رسالۂ وجود is quoted under No. 38 and شجرۂ نسب under No. 42.

'Abdul 'Aziz Wa'izi has specifically mentioned that he borrowed the titles from the three volumes brought by Saiyid 'Alaud-Din Mahdi:

از جملہ نسخہای این ہر سہ جلو د بعضی رسالہ ہا را کہ اسامی آن در ضمن رسالہ ہا عنوان معلوم بودہ است، اینست۔

As such the slight difference in the titles of the following treatises, as available in Kirmani's book, may be attributed to the carelessness of the scribe:

'AbdurRazzaq	Wa'izi
رسالۂ در تاویل فاتحۃ الکتاب	رسالۂ تفسیر فاتحہ
رسالہ در حروف مقطعہ	رسالہ در حروف مقطعات
رسالۂ ذوقیہ رسالۂ ذوقیات	
رسالۂ مناقب مہدی	رسالۂ مناقبات امام مہدی
رسالۂ اسئلۂ سلطان سکندر واجو بہ حضرت مقدسہ	رسالۂ سوالات و جوابات
رسالۂ اصطلاحات شیخ محی الدین در ترجمہ اصطلاحات شیخ کمال الدین عبدالرزاق کاشی	شرح اصطلاحات صوفیہ تلفظات شیخ محی الدین عربی

It would be interesting to note that the Saint's last *risala* mentioned by 'Abdur-Razzaq is رسالۂ نسبت خرقہ سلطان احمد شاہ ابو المغاذی البہمنی۔

As it is known that on the coronation of Sultan Shihabud-Din Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani, Shah Ni'matullah had sent a *Khirqa*, the said *risala* must have been written on the same occasion. A copy of this treatise is preserved in the British Museum, Rieu: Cat. of the Persian MSS. II, pp. 83, 33, No. XXII.

Importance of the Treatise :

This small treatise is significant in respect of the following points:

1. This treatise is a valuable addition to the meagre available Persian literature of the Bahmani period.
2. It is the oldest work on the subject and hence it is a very reliable docu- ment about the biography of Shah Ni'matullah Wali.
3. It contains the spiritual pedigree of the sufis of various *silsilas* resulting in recording the names of a large number of sufis. Hence the author has called it a *Tadhkira-i-Sufia*.
4. It gives some facts concerning Deccan history, for example:

(i) It contains the details of the Sultan Shihabud-Din's dream and presentation of crown by Shah Ni'matullah W[illegible]. This account differs from Firishta but agrees with Kirmani's.

(ii) This treatise gives the complete titles of both Sultan Shihabud-Din Ahmad Shah Wali and Sultan 'Alau'd-Din Ahmad Shah; the former is stated with these titles:

"حضرت افضل السلاطین، جهانبان جهانبانی، جهاندار اقلیم
کاردانی، جهانگیر عالم علم افرازی، جهان نمای ملك حسن پردازی،
جهان بخش ممالك داوری، جهان نواز دیار داد گری المستنصر بالله
الغنی، السلطان العادل الباذل الکامل للفاضل ابو المغازی شهاب الدنیا
و الدین احمد شاه الولی البهمنی۔"

while the latter with these titles:

سلطان الشرفا ۔۔۔ المستنصر باللّٰه القوی الغنی السلطان ابن
السلطان ابو المظفر علاء الدنیا و الدین

The titles of Sultan Ahmad Shah as given in the *Tarikh-i-Firishta* and *Burhan-i-Ma'athir* generally agree with the above: for example, in the latter the Sultan has been called

خدایگان اعلی شهاب الدین و الدنیا افضل سلاطین آل بهمن اشرف
ملوك ملك دکن ابو الغازی سلطان احمد شاه ابن احمد خان الخ۔
افضل السلاطین ابو الغازی سلطان احمد شاه بهمنی

while in the *Tarikh-i-Firishta* he has been termed as سلطان احمد شاه ولی بہمنی . One point to be noted is that four titles are common to the treatise and the chronicles, *viz.* Shihabud-Din, Afzalus-Salatin, al-Wali, Abu'l Maghazi (Abu'l-Ghazi). This patronymic epithe ابو الغازی occurs invariably in *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, and the same is used with a slight change in diction as Abu'l Maghazi, on two occasions in Wa'izi's treatise as well as in Abdul-Razzaq's *risala*. The correct phraseology is Abu'l Maghazi as mentioned by Wa'izi and Kirmani and not Abu'l Ghazi as appearing in *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*. The literal meaning of the term is 'father of campaigns.' The word *maghazi* is a plural of *maghza* bearing 3 shads of meaning–battle-field, campaign and military operation, with an implied meaning of paragon of prowess. The titles of 'Alau'd-Din as given in the *Burhan-i-Ma'athir* are the same as appear in Wa'izi's treatise, *viz.*, Abu'l-Muzaffar 'Alau'd-Din Ahmad Shah b. Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani. But Firishta just mentions him as Sultan Ahmad Bahmani.

(iii) It introduces Shaikh Nizamud-Din Ahmad Faruqi *alias* Shaikh Khojan as an important saint of his time. Through his line of pedigree the author supplies this important information that Sultan 'Alau'd-Din Hasan Shah Bahmani, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, got one of his daughters married in the family of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar.

(iv) 'Abul 'Aziz Wa'izi supplies information about Saiyid 'Alaud-Din Mahdi Tabrizi, a renowned disciple of Shah Ni'matullah Wali. According to 'Abdur Razzaq Kirmani, Saiyid Mahdi proceeded to India from Syria and perhaps it was there that Wa'izi contacted him and obtained material for his treatise. In this way we come across the personality of a saint who was a great disciple of Shah Ni'matullah and who lived for some time in India.

The Language and Style :

The treatise is generally written in a simple and straight-forward language, but at times abundant adjectives and epithets drawn from Arabic vocabulary render the style intricate, though this is not a common feature. However, the author being very fond of *saja'*, uses it in three and even more words. A few instances

are quoted below:

هر کس[32] بهزار دل و جان بسر دوان و چشم غلطان سوی رایت هدایت آن خسرو عارفان در آمد وزیر چتر حمایت و مراتب شفاعت در خزید، هر چند دور باش مهابت عظمت ولایت آن پیشرو رهبران نمو دارشد هر طالبی صادق و پسر و واثق به رشد آن رهنمای عاشقان بر سر کارشد، روز بروز ساعت بساعت قلوب خواص و عوام بسوی سرایچهٔ احاطت و بارگاه رفیع ولایت و آرامگاه وسیع هدایت حضرت معلاء شاه ولی بتوجه بر آمد الخ۔

امادل مطهر[33] در عین حضور رایت سرور کشودند۔ هر شخصی را بد لائل و قیاس و بمناظره و احساس بشرهٔ مشتاقانه و التفات اعضا و مستی عیون مستانه و اکراه از ترددات معاملات علاقات و انقطاع از صحبت خلایق و مکالمات بظاہر محسوس شده اسباب تیقن می افزود۔

The following epithets mostly formed from the word جـــهـــان explain fully his interest in rhetorics:[34]

جهانبان جهان جهانبانی، جهاندار اقلیم کاردانی، جهانگیر عالم علم افروزی، جهان نمای ملکت حسن پردازی، جهان بخش ممالك داوری، جهان نواز دیار داد گری الخ

The writer has abundantly used the Arabic plural ending in 'ات' perhaps with a view to creating *Jinas*. Some examples are these:

خارقات، تصنیفات، اربعینات، مالونات، سجدات، سلسات، بنیات، جوابات، سنوات، ملتمسات، کشوفات، عبورات etc.,

Some of the words commonly used are هر همه pp. 291, 312, 313,315,1317; کشوفات 271, 273; تلوین pp. 292, 307 two times, مادون pp. 289, 291, 312; بضرورت pp.287, 305; طاقیه pp. 277, 316, 318; pp. 291,309. مخ ; pp 271, 281, 306, 317 تبتل ; pp. 292, 313 کارگان

The words not used commonly in Persian are of this nature: ذایق (p. 272), آخته (p. 315), دلیاب (p.313), کنجدوار (p. 313), اجلاس گاه اضعاف تر (p. 312), پالهنگ (p. 292), مکملاتی (p. 312), منن (p. 273), خیلتاش (p. 290), منسلخ (p. 312), دل نمودگی (p. 315), ظنون (p.305), دهگان، چندگان، دوازدهگان (p. 271), پرحاصل (p. 271), عیشبان (p.271), جشنجای گلبار (p. 275). ملکدار، ملکران (p. 272), (p.271),

***The MS. of the Treatise*:**

The treatise under consideration exists in a unique manuscript preserved in the British Museum under Add. 16837 No. XXII

(Rieu's Cat. Vol. II p. 833). This MS. has been edited by Jean Aubin under the title of *Risala dar siyar Shah Ni'matullah Wali* in a *Majmu'a* called مجموعه در ترجمهٔ احوال شاه نعمت الله ولی کرمانی containing the following three treatises:

1. *Tadhkira dar Manaqib Hazrat Shah Ni'matullah Wali* by 'Abdu'r Razzaq Kirmani, pp. 1-132.
2. A chapter from Jama' Mufidi by Mufid Mustaufi Yazdi, pp. 133-268.
3. 'Abdu'l 'Aziz's said treatise, pp. 269-322.

It was published in 1335/1956 under Bibliotheque Iranienne, Tehran, Department d'Iranologic d' l'Institute Franco-Iranien,and from Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient, Adrien-Maisonneuve, with an Introduction in French and three indexes.

This is a scholarly critical edition of the text. But one comes across a few printing errors which have somehow escaped the notice of the editor. I shall quote some of them :

p. 286, l. 17 خدای عز و جل: از قضای خدا عز و جل is the correct form.
p. 285, l. 19. In the verse from the Qur'an the word is لله and not الله .
p. 293, . 5– فقیه شیخ برهان الدین ابراهیم بن عمر علوی . The correct name of the Faqih was شیخ برهان الدین ابراهیم بن علی علوی as appears on p. 295 *l.* 18. 'Abdu'r Razzaq Kirmani who consulted Wa'izi's treatises gives this name twice as شیخ برهان الدین ابراهیم بن علی علوی (p. 57, *ll.* 6-7 p. 58, 1. 15). Hence it may be regarded as the correct name.
p. 308 lines II-12 ؟ سید تاج الدین مقتداء ستتار –The last doubtful word may be corrected as سیستان for 'Abdur Razzaq Kirmani has quoted it as such (see the *Majmu'a* p. 111 *l.* 8).
p. 308 lines 3-4. In ابو المغازی شهاب الدنیا و الدین احمد شاه ابی البهمنی is incorrect; the correct word الولی البهمنی appears on p. 316, *l.* 10.
p. 316 l. 9 – المنتصر بالله . The first word is المستنصر and appears correctly on p. 308, *l.* 3.
p. 3II l. 3 –.--رسالهٔ شرح رباعی شیخ ابو سعید ابو الخیر. The editor has added a note that three words were not readable. May I venture to add that a comparison of this with No.30 p.115, lines 5-6 would reveal that most probably the three words were قدس الله سره ?

Notes

1. See, *Majmu'a dar Tarjuma-i-Ahwal Shah Ni'matullah Wali*, 3rd Risala; but in the British Museum, catalogue of Persian MSS. 11, MS. No. Add. 16837, XXII, p. 833, the title is *Manaqib Hazrat Shah Nimatullah Wali*.
2. Rieu has read as Mulk but Malik too is equally correct reading.
3. *Majmu'a*, pp. 272-73.
4. *Majmu'a*, p. 16.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 14 - 24.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 328.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 73 - 74.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 272.
9. *Majmu'a*.
10. *Ibid.*
11. 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Kirmani seems to have borrowed this information from Wa'izi, but the latter's available *Risala* is silent on this point. However, Kirmani says:

    مولف سیر اولی از سید علاء الدین مهدی نقل کرده که من در شام سیصد و چهل رساله از آنحضرت جمع کرده بودم الخ
12. *Majmu'a*, pp. 287-88.
13. The capital was transferred in the time of Sultan Ahmad Shah Wali about 825 A.H.
14. Firishta calls it Ahmadabad Bidar, but the author of *Burhan-i-Ma'athir* names it Muhammadabad, which is the correct name.
15. *Majmu'a*, p. 288.
16. *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 54.
17. *Majmu'a*, p. 308: مخدوم زاده شیخ نظام : p. 321 مخدوم زاده شیخ نظام الدین فارقی الدین احمد المعروف بشیخ خوجن
18. The reading of the *ruba'i* is a little different in the *Jami' Mufidi*, p. 141:

    مرا علمی که اندر سینه دادند — عجب علمی ولی درسی ندادند
    بسه حالی مرا گردید معلوم — که شیخ چله را درسی ندادند
19. *Ibid.*, p. 316.
20. *Majmu'a*, p. 107.
21. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 318.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 316.

    سید گفت از عالم بالا تاج شاهی بعد از نوبه برادرت احمد خان -- نامزد گشته است، کوشش برای دیگران نمودن بیفایده است۔

    When Ahmad Khan was fleeing he went to Saiyid Gesu Daraz who again blessed him and his son 'Alaud-Din with the attainment of Kingship (*Ibid.* p. 317.).
23. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 328.
24. *Burhan*, p. 54.
25. He should not be confounded with Shah Ni'matullah's grandson Shah Habibullah, the son of Shah Khalilullah, to whom Sultan Ahmad gave his daughter in marriage (see *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 229, *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*,

p. 81).

26. It was composed in 911 A.H. (see p. 16).
27. In the original تذکره اولیا is a clerical error, correct title referring to Wa'izi's treatise and the said information is available in the *Risala* p. 279.
28. This is obviously wrong for the information is borrowed from 'Abdu'l 'Aziz's treatise. I shall first quote a few lines from the latter work:

    و در آن ایام که حضرت معلاء امیر در شهر سبز که از سمرقند دو منزل راه است، مسکنی لطیف بیارائیدند اندر آن شهر مسجد جامع نیکو بر آوردند و حوض کاوانیده پر از شکر کردند تامردمان از آن حوض همگی شربت بیاشامیدند و آن را حوض شکر نامیدند۔

    The other reason for ascribing the information to 'Abdul 'Aziz Wa'izi is that the subsequent statement is also available in the latter work. I shall quote both the statements:

    'Abdul 'Aziz

    در ولایت سمرقند سه جبال اند. هر جبلی باسمی مسماست۔ یکی را کوه نور خوانند و دوم را کوه توبه نامند و سوم را کوه سلکدار می شناسند و حضرت معلاء امیر -- در آن هر سه کوه بسی نهال بار دار اربعینات : من اخلص الله تعالی اربعین صباحا، گردانید و اثمار مطلوب: ظهرت ینابیع الحکمة من قلبه علی لسانه، بر دامن مراد بر چیدند و خاصه کوه سلکدار که هر کس از بلندی آن کوه و بسیاری برف و غلبهٔ هوای مخالف بر آن کوه بر رفتن نمی توانست شتافت حضرت امیر بسی اربعینات بر آوردند و یك بار جهلهٔ کبیر نیز که صد و بیست روزه باشد مرتب کردند و روز ها به یخ می کشودند و بفراغت دل بعبادت حق تعالی می بودند -- ویك باری که بر آن کوه دو جهله مرتب بسر بردند در آن هشتاد و چهار روز هیچ چیز از خرما و غیر آن نخوردند الا که بوقت افطار قدسی همان برف می چشیدند -- سید مهدی تبریزی که بتشریف ارادت و بیعت حضرت معلاء امیر مشرف اند وبه تعریف خلافت معرف اند میفرماید که من این حکایت را از زبان حضرت معلاء شاه ولی دو کرت شنیده ام۔
    (pp. 283-284)

    'Abdur-Razzaq Kirmani

    و در ولایت سمرقند سه کوه است یکی را کوه نور و یکی را کوه توبه و دیگری را سلکدار گویند و در هر سه کوه مقدسه اربعین داشته اند و از شجرهٔ حکم: من اخلص الله اربعین صباحا زلال آمال را پر از اثمار: ظهرت ینابیع الحکمة من قلبه علی لسانه کرده واقطاف منی بیرون از عدد و من چیده و نوشیده اند: و گویند در کوه سلکدار با وجود آنکه از بلندی و بسیاری برف بالا رفتن ممکن نیست در زمستان حضرت مقدسه اربعینات داشته بر آورده اندو بوقت افطار قدری برف چشیده ما کول و مشروب دیگر نخورده اند۔ وسید علاء الدین مهدی تبریزی که بشرف ارادت مشرف و بتوصیف خلافت معرف اند این را از حضرت مقدسه نقل کرده اند۔ (pp. 39-40)

    This evidently proves that 'Abdu'r-Razzaq borrowed these pieces of information from Wa'izi and not from Sadidu'd-Din.
29. Muhammadabad-Bidar, which was made capital by Sultan Ahmad Shah Wali.

30. This is the only reference to Saiyid Mahdi's arrival in India.
31. *Majmu'a*, p. 310.
32. See *Majmu'a*, p. 288.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 312.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 316.

TAQI AWHADI

The most important Persian Tadhkira-writer of the last quarter of the 10th/16th and first half of the 11th/17th century, and his unique "TADHKIRA", the" 'ARAFAT-I-ASHIQIN"[1]

Taqi Awhadi was one of those important Persian writers who have produced a number of works, both in prose and poetry, establishing his reputation as a good poet and successful prose-writer. But unfortunately very few of his works have come down to us. The most important of all his works is the "'Arafat-i-'Ashiqin" a general biography of Persian poets, but it is so rare that no complete copy is known to exist. This book which has won its reputation through the ages, may be utilised to fill a long gap in the history of Persian literature.

The credit for directing the attention of scholars to the author and his rare work goes to Nathniel Bland, a distinguished member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. More than a century ago he published in the ninth volume of the J.R.A.S. his classical account of 'Awfi's *Lubabul-Albab* and a number of other *Tadhkiras* including the *" 'Arafatul-'Ashiqin"*, entitled *"On the earliest Persian Biography of Poets, by Muhammad 'Aufi, and some other works of the class called Tadhkiratul-Shuara"*. This communication was read to the Asiatic Society on February 17, 1848, and "should be consulted", remarks[2] Professor E.G. Browne, "by all students of Persian literature". Sprenger also made a brief mention of the author and his *Tadhkira* in his *Catalogue of the ...... MSS of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*; lastly Abdul-Muqtadir, while introducing the Bankipur Codex of the *'Arafatul 'Ashiqin*, gave some more details of the author's life and works in the *Bankipur Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, Vol. VIII. pp. 75-79. But still the subject needs a fuller discussion, and accordingly I have ventured to give a critical and coherent account of Taqi Awhadi's life and works.

Awhadi's Ancestry.–The author's full name, as given in the preface of the *'Arafat*, is Taqi bin Mu'inud-Din bin Sa'dud-Din Muhammad al-Husaini al-Awhadi al-Daqqaqi[3] al-Balyani al-Isfahani.[3] He descended from an illustrious Husaini Sayyid

family of Iran which has produced such eminent saints and divines as Awhadud-Din (d. 686/1287) and Abu 'Ali Daqqaq. Taqi claims descent by sevent steps from Shaikh Awhadud-Din and through him by another seven steps from Abu 'Ali al-Daqqaq and accordingly derived his *nisbah* or cognomen of al-Awhadi from the former and of al-Daqqaqi from the latter. From his mother's side too Taqi's nobility of birth was fully established. His maternal grandfather, Hafiz Sa'dud-Din Inayatullah Khwansari, himself a sufi, descended from the Zainul-Awliya, Khwaja Hasan-i-Mazi.[5] Taqi was justly proud of his noble pedigree and of the shaikhs and saints of the two branches of this genealogical tree, as he remarks:

> "In both the lines of the ancestors and forefathers of this humble mote, there had been men of perfections and excellences, monotheists, (recognized) saints and shaikhs, spiritual guides and saviours of the time and age; and since the time of Adam till our days, the wine of divine knowledge of perpetuity, like a cup of prosperity, had passed from one hand to the other in this family".

Awhadi's Home and Birth place.- As seen earlier, Awhadi's name is appended with five cognomens of which two, viz. Awhadi and Daqqaqi, refer to two of his ancestors; the one indicates the branch of the Sayyid the author belonged to, while the remaining two, viz., Balyani[6] and Isfahani point to his ancestral home and birth-place, respectively. About Balyan the author supplies[7] this information:

> "Now Balyan which is the residence of the great forefathers of this humble one and the burial place of the noble saints of this line, is a town[8] in the district of Gazrun[9] in Fars where the forefathers of this mote (humble one) had their buildings."

Awhadi's forefathers resided at this small town in Fars, and on this account the important saint, Awhadud-Din, has also been mentioned with the *nisbal* of al-Farsi. Some of his ancestors chose to shift their residence to the headquarter of the province, viz., Shiraz.

Since Awhadi was born and brought up at Isfahan and spent a good deal of his life at this centre, he should justly regard this city

as his actual home. But it should also be borne in mind that his ancestors, including his own father, had nothing to do with Isfahan for they had resided in the province of Fars.

Awhadi's Father:–Awhadi's father, Mu'inud-Din Muhammad, was the son of Sa'dud-Din Muhammad.[10] He was born[11] in A.H. 941/1534, and when he attained the age of twelve, he began to give sermons and lead prayers in a mosque at Shiraz and subsequently became a very popular figure.[12] At the age of thirty he went to Qazwin[13] and secured an introduction to the court of Shah Tahmasp Safawi (A.H. 930-984/1523-1576). The Sultan patronised him by granting robes of honour and *firmans*. Mu'inud-Din remained with the Shah for one year. Then he left the court and went to Isfahan, where he was wedded to the daughter of Hafiz 'Inayat-ullah Khwansari, a renowned divine and the Imam of the Juma-mosque at Isfahan. But he could not remain there even for a year, for he was oblighed[14] to leave for Shiraz; but here too he was not destined to stay long. Forced by circumstances he had to undertake several journeys and at last[15] he went to India where he met with his sudden death, and thus the successful career of a promising young man was cut short abruptly.[16]

Mu'inud-Din was an accomplished scholar. He occasionally composed good verses, some of which are quoted in the *'Arafat*.

Awhadi's Birth, Early Education and Training (A.H. 973-989/1565- 1581):– Some biographers[17] have given Awhadi's full name as Taqiud-Din Muhammad; but the author frequently calls himself Taqi[18] only and accordingly Sprenger[19] and A. Muqtadir[20] and one biographer[21] give this short[22] name. As the names of both Taqi's father and grandfather ended in "al-Din Muhammad", in accordance with the family tradition, his name rhymed with the above and ended as such and it was out of his humbleness that he often gave his short[23] name only. In the preface of the *'Arafat* Awhadi's name appears in this verse:–

گوهرم پاك و متقی آمد   نامم از آسمان تقی آمد

"As my jewel (nobility) was pure and pious,
I received the name of Taqi from heaven."

As stated above, Awhadi's father came to Isfahan probably in the beginning of A.H. 972/1564, got married and after a short stay proceeded on his journey. In the actual beginning of the following

year, i.e., on Wednesday,[24] the 2nd Muharram, A.H. 973/ September 30, 1565, Awhadi was born in Isfahan. The preface of the *'Arafat*, which is of unusual length, is mostly devoted to the author's life and the history of his family. The following[25] statement, giving the details of events before Awhadi's birth, indicates that his mother probably bore the name of Fatima or Zahra and that he was born within a year of his parents' marriage:[26]

"When in accordance with Eternal volition, and by the guidance of everlasting fortune, the noble father of this humble (mote) came to Iran (Isfahan) from Shiraz, the pearl of his existence was designed in the womb of Zahra's namesake, which is the casket of this unique pearl (gem), by the *Naisan*[27] of his backbone .... Though the duration of the conjunction of these planets in the culmination of good fortune had not extended beyond forty full rounds of days and nights of the highest heaven, the sun of existence of this humble (mote) rose in the Aries (*baitushsharaf*, i.e., the highest mansion of the planet) of placenta."

On the death of Awhadi's father in a foreign[28] land, the child was left under the care of his widowed mother who personally trained him, as is clear from these words:-

"That Mary of the time taking upon herself to nurture (me) like a nurse, suckled me with the milk of kindness from the breast of success and like Rabi'a in the prime of her youth, despite her perfection in beauty, she parted with all physical pleasures and carnal desires of the ephemeral world, and though only a mother, began to act boldly like a father and reared by watering, like a farmer, the sapling of my nature from the canal of her wisdom."

Awhadi was a promising child. He had a prodigious memory and at the age of fifty he still remembered a number of events of those days when he was a suckling babe. When he attained the age of four years he was sent to a school and within a short time "became not only a reciter of the holy Qur'an, but could fluently speak and fully understand it". Then he pursued his various studies "by planting his footsteps in the wilderness of grammar, logic, jurisprudence and mathematics[29] and then passing on to the valley of medical science[30] and moral philosophy". He describes himself as having applied so diligently to all his studies as to have been quite free from the propensity to play and sport which "occasion-

ally distracts the attention and engages the time of children".

Awhadi studied at various schools; he himself has mentioned one at Isfahan, started[31] under the instructions of Shah Tahmasp (d. 984/1576) for the noble-born orphans of Sayyid families. The Principal of the school, Shaikhul Islam, Shaik 'Ali Mansha, was a great scholar and under him Taqi pursued his studies very well.[31]

Although Taqi was indifferent to all sorts of vain pursuits engaging the children's time, his taste for poetry had been evinced at a very early age. While a small child of only eight and nine years, he used to participate in children's poetical gatherings and he informs us that on one occasion he was on the point of being badly defeated in a poetical feat when intuitionally he could compose this line and was saved from utter disappointment:

ثنا گفتم دعا کردم چون بلبل   همی نالم زعشق رویت ای گل

But his mother did not like the child to waste his time in such pursuits; he was discouraged in favour of more severe studies of science. But to his ill luck Awhadi lost his mother when he was twelve[33] years of age. Thereupon we find him leaving Isfahan for Yazd for one year and subsequently returning to the same place where he stayed till he was of 16 years old.

Awhadi's Travels Through Iran (A.H. 989-1014/1581 -1605):- When Awhadi attained the age of sixteen, he left Isfahan for Shiraz where he had some of his paternal relations. On his arrival at this important seat of learning, he associated himself with a number of poets and scholars. He stayed there for four years (A.H. 989[34]-993/1581-1585) and pursued his studies under the supervision of his father's cousin and brother-in-law, Mawlana Mir Qari.[35] The latter was so favourably impressed by his pupil as to consent to give him the hand of his daughter in marriage. But young Awhadi had solemny vowed not to be wedded, and we know with certainty that he adhered to this vow till the age of fifty at the time of writing the *'Arafat.* Probably this vow was caused by the fact that he had seen a very sad picture of the married life of his parent. His mother could not enjoy the pleasures of a married life even for a year, and since her widowhood both the mother and her child must have been subjected to sufferings and hardships. Taqi Awhadi flatly rejected the marriage proposal and continued his studies diligently. So when he returned to Isfahan (Iraq) some

time about A.H. 993/1585, he was an accomplished scholar.[36]

In those days Sultan Muhammad Khuda Banda (A.H. 985-995/1577-1587) was staying at Isfahan and in A.H. 995/1587 Taqi appeared in the royal camp. The army had created much disturbance in the locality. Shah 'Abbas (A.H.995-1037/1587-1628) started from Khurasan, and marching against Khuda Banda, subdued the latter. After the overthrow of the Sultan's power Awhadi secured his introduction to the court of the new Shah. He was received with honour and accompanied the king to Kashan[37] and Qum. Awhadi remained at Kashan for one year and played an active role in the literary activities of the place.[38] Here he came in contact with Fahmi,[39] Hatim, Ghazanfar and many other poets and held poetical competitions with them. Shah 'Abbas was so well impressed by Awhadi that he raised his position higher and higher.

After one year Taqi returned to Isfahan with one of the Sultan's courtiers with whom the author was on friendly terms. Without prolonging his stay, he proceeded towards Shiraz where he is calculated to have arrived after A.H. 996/1588. This city was then ruled by Yaqub Khan, who in A.H. 999/1590-91 was defeated and overthrown by Shah 'Abbas. Awhadi remained there until[40] A.H. 1000/1591 and used to hold literary discussions and poetical competitions with the important poets of the place. When he went to Isfahan, some time in the same year, he heard the happy news of Shah 'Abbas's conquest of Khurasan and the overthrow of 'Abdullah and 'Abdul Mumin Khan's power. Consequently, Maidan-i-Harun and Isfahan were illuminated with great rejoicings. Awhadi graced the occasion by composing the following quatrain:

میدان صفاهان که زماه و پروین صد داغ نهاده بر دل چرخ برین
نی گشته چراغان که پی سجدهٔ شاه افتاده کواکبند برروی زمین

The king was much pleased with this composition and asked the poets in his camp to compose similar verses. But no one could impress the Sultan. Awhadi too composed some other quatrains, but these lacked the charm of the former one.

Now Awhadi had become a great favourite of Shah 'Abbas', who would not part with him at any moment of his life. In A.H. 1001/1592 the Sultan took him in his company to Qazwin, where Awhadi formed association with the local poets and scholars and

participated in the literary activities.

The Sultan had by the time so exalted Awhadi that he was called "Sha'ir Begi"[41] (the chief or royal poet). It was due to this exaltaion[42] that he alone was chosen to accompany the Sultan from Qazwin to Isfahan. Shani Taklu, who was such a favourite of the king that he was weighed in gold, was denied this favour, and was ordered to stay in Qazwin.

While proceeding to Isfahan, the Sultan chanced to pass through Kashan where Mir Sayyid[43] Ahmad Khan, a religious reactionary, had gained great influence. He was, however, beheaded under royal instructions and subsequently a great number of his adherents were put to death. The Sultan, being dead against such amovement, had killed a number of the followers of the said Sayyid during his stay in Qazwin. At Kashan, Baqir, a good young poet, also fell a victim to the propaganda; but the Sultan personally took interest in his case and on his personal investigation it was revealed that the poet was falsely implicated.

The Sultan had been encamping in Isfahan for one year and Awhadi contiued to enjoy the Sultan's favour, when, on account of a serious sickness, he left the royal camp and stopped at Isfahan till A.H. 1005/1596. In the meantime he went to Yazd and stayed there for about one year and then came back to his home town. After staying there for a short time, he started on a pilgrimage to important places of sanctity. He spent more than four years on this journey and stayed more than three years at the holy shrines of Karbala, Najaf and Baghdad. During the sojourn he came in contact with Mahwi in A.H. 1007/1598-99[44] and remained with him for about two years. In A.H. 1009/1600 he returned from this pilgrimage to Isfahan through Hamadan and stayed in this city till A.H. 1014/1605.

Awhadi leaves for India :- According to his own remark, Taqi Awhadi left Isfahan for India on the firt Rajab, A.H. 1015[45]/ 23rd October 1606, along with a number of friends and associates. This year was very significant in Indian history, for in it Akbar (A.H. 964/1014/1556-1605) died, and his son Jahangir (A.H. 1014-1037/1605-1627) was crowned[46] as the Emperor of India.

Among Awhadi's companions only the following three are known to us:-

1. The first was Taqi Mu'arraf[47] of Isfahan, whose house was located in the same *Mohalla* of the city as Awhadi's and whose forefathers had been on friendly terms for long. Awhadi kept the tradition by contracting close association with his namesake as well as the latter's brother, Mu'izzud-Din Muhammad.

Taqi accompanied Awhadi to India and succeeded in securing his admission to Jahangir's son, Prince Parwiz, who took the poet in his company to Burhanpur. Taqi continued to enjoy the favour of his patron till his death in A.H. 1021/ 1612-13.

2. Quli Khan Beg bin Hasan Sultan Shamlu with the pen-name Mujrim[48] was another companion of Awhadi's in his journey to India. He was a very good-scholar and poet, 'a rendezous of perfections and of good morals, a calligraphist, skilled in *Shikast* hand and a musician distinguished in magnanimity and valour.' After his death in A.H. 1020/1611, in accordance with his will, Awhadi collected his verses and completed a *Diwan*.

3. Haidar of Hamadan was Awhadi's[49] third known companion. He was the son of 'Ali Khan Beg and a bosom friend of Taqi Awhadi's. He had come to India previously but returned to Iran to accompany his friend Awhadi in A.H. 1015. He had been in the service of Jahangir for a long time. But about A.H. 1022 he preferred to serve Prince Khurram. He was skilled in many branches of learning, including music. It was at Haidar's suggestion that Awhadi completed his anthology, the *Firdaws-i-Khayal-i-Awhadi*.

Along with these and a number of other companions Awhadi arrived at Shiraz before the close of the year 1015/1606, for the *Riyazush-Shu'ara*[50] informs us about Nasira-i-Hamadani's meeting with Awhadi in the city in the same year. The traveller stayed here for a short time and then commenced his journey[51] along the land route and arrived at Kirman and then at Qandhar, which was then passing through its worst days. It was a part of the Mughal territory and, on the death of Akbar, the ruler of Herat invaded Qandahar[52] and arrested its governor, Shah Beg. The sad news was communicated to Jahangir[53] who sent a formidable force under the command of Mirza Ghazi Beg[54] (d. 1021/1612), which having arrived at Qandhar on the 12th Shawwal,[55] 1015/31st January, 1607, quelled the tumult within a short time. Shah Beg was re-

placed by Sardar Khan; but still Qandahar was a headache to the Emperor. At last he promoted Mirza Ghazi to the rank of a five thousand *mansabdar* and subsequently[56] appointed him governor of the three provinces of Multan, Thatha (Sind) and Qandahar on the 10th of Ramadan 1016/ 19th December, 1607.

It appears that Awhadi had passed through Qandahar before the advent of Mirza Ghazi, whom he has casually[57] mentioned in the *'Arafat*. The fact is that the Mirza was such a liberal patron of art and letters that he attracted a number of Persian poets and scholars like Talib of Amul (d. 1035 or 1036/1626), Murshid of Barujard (d. after 1031/1622), Asad-i-Qissa Khawan, Sanjar of Kashan (d. 1021/1612) and many others.[58] In these circumstances, there is little doubt that Awhadi engaged the attention of this great patron.

Awhadi left Qandahar for Lahore and reached there about one year[59] (or a little less) after the commencement of his journey from Isfahan, in the year 1016/1607. During this period Jahangir was staying at Lahore and its suburbs. The Emperor had arrived there on the 9th day of Muharram[60], A.H. 1015/7th May, 1606 in Khusraw's pursuit. Then he moved towards Kabùl and reached there on the 14th Safar, 1015/1st June, 1607 and without prolonging his stay, he left Kabul in the same year on the 4th Jumada/ 17th August and arrived at Lahore on the 13th Sh'aban/23rd November. After the close of the fasting month, January 1608, he set out for Agra. These details indicate that our new Iranian travellers must have tried to meet[61] the Emperor at Lahore.

Taqi Awhadi spent one and a half years[62] at Lahore, but no significant incident of this period of his life is known to us. It was possible for him to secure an introduction to the Imperial camp, but the author himself is unusually silent, and this leads us to conclude otherwise.

In the middle of the year 1017/1608 Taqi arrived in the metropolis, where he is stated to have stayed for over a year. During this period Jahangir was in the capital, but we have no information of Awhadi's securing the Imperial favour or admittance to the court. Thereafter he set out for Gujarat where he must have arrived in A.H. 1018/1609.[64] Here Awhadi came in contact with Naziri[65] of Nishapur, contracted friendship with him and

regularly attended literary meetings held at his residence in Ahmadabad.[66]

In Gujrat and its central place, Ahmadabad, Awhadi stayed for about three years and then left it for Agra for the second time. In the Bankipur catalogue[67] he is stated to have arrived there in A.H. 1020/1611. This is incorrect, firstly, because a period of more than six years, stated to have lapsed between the commencement of the journey in the 7th month of 1015/1606 and the close of his stay in Gujarat, would only be completed in the closing months of 1021/1612; secondly, because his stay at Lahore (1½ years), Agra (1¼ years) and Gujarat (3 years) would be quarter to six years and his arrival at Lahore is not possible before A.H. 1016/ 1607, and hence his presence in Gujarat in the closing months of 1021/1612 is proved beyond any shadow of doubt; thirdly, because Awhadi personally reports of his stay there about the close of the year 1020/January 1612 and of his composing[68] a *qita'* for Naziri, which would not give a date earlier than A.H. 1021/1612: lastly because, according to Sprenger[69], some of his poems composed in Gujarat bear the date 1021/1612.

Thus it becomes almost certain that Awhadi must have arrived at Agra about the close of the year[70] 1021/1612.

Awhadi stays in Agra and returns to Gujarat for the second time. – After Awhadi's arrival at Agra, he was engaged[71] in compiling the important *Tadhkira*, the *'Arafat-i-Ashiqin* which has immortalised the name of its author.

During the period A.H. 1022/1613-1024/1615[72] when the author was busy with his book, the Emperor was away from the capital. He left for[73] Ajmer on the 22nd Sh'aban 1022/7th September 1613 and reached there on the 5th Shawwal/8th November of the same year. After staying on this side for about four years, the Emperor proceeded towards Gujarat in Sh'aban, A.H. 1026/1616 and the Nawroz festival of the year 1027/1618, which fell on Rabi I/26th February, was observed in Gujarat, from where he could return to Agra in the same year on the 22nd day of Ramdan/3rd September.

Awhadi revised this book in A.H. 1026-27/1617-18, and on this occasion too Jahangir seems to have been away[74] from the metropolis. Thus the Emperor's share in the completion of the

'Arafat seems to be nil and therefore the statement of one biographer[75] should not be misinterpreted.

Taqi Awhadi returned[76] to Gujarat for the second time but we cannot fix any definite date of this journey. According to Sprenger,[77] the poet composed some poems in Guajrat bearing A.H. 1031/1621, which would place his arrival there some time earlier than this date. He seems to have stayed for a longer period for the *Ka'ba-i-'Irfan* was completed[78] here in A.H. 1036/1626-27. This indicates that Awhadi stayed in Gujarat long after this date.

Awhadi's death.–The best source of information for the first fifty years of Awhadi's life is the preface to the *'Arafat*, which is of unusual length, occupying 36 pages in East India Codex and more than 20 pages in the Bankipur Codex, and about two-third of which is devoted to the author's life. But we have no particular source for his later biography, so much so that we are in the dark even about the ordinary details of his death. In two or three places we come across some inadequate information about the date of Awhadi's death. In the *Subh-i-Gulshan*[79] he is stated to have breathed his last in A.H. 1030/1620-21, which is somewhat confirmed by the *India Office Catalogue*[80], where the same date is preceded by the word "about", pointing to the uncertainty of its author in this particular matter. But we know that Awhadi was alive in A.H. 1036/1626-27, for according to Sprenger,[81] the *Kulliyat-i-Awhadi* contains such poems as were composed in A.H. 1036/1626-27 in Gujarat and, according to the *Guldasta*,[82] Taqi himself gave A.H. 1036/1626-27 as the year when the *Ka'ba-i-'Irfan* was finished. The author himself made a selection from this book which was long after this date. In view of these facts, the date of Awhadi's death as given in *R.A.S.B. Cat.*,[83] viz., A.H. 1340/1630 seems to be correct and, on this basis, his age at the time of his death was about 67 years.

Awhadi's Works.–Taqi was a versatile writr who is stated to have composed more than thirty thousand verses[84] and several works in prose. The author has himself given a long list[85] of his works in his *Ka'ba-i-'Irfan*, which has been quoted in the *Guldasta*,[86] and I take the privilege of examining the list of his compositions, which is as follows:–

I. A series of the following seven *mathnawis* arranged in their

chronological order:-

(i) The *Yaqub-u-Yusuf*[87] (Jacob and Joseph) containing 2222 lines.

(ii) The *Saqi-namah* (The Book of Cup-bearer) entitled *Nasha-i-Bekhumar* [88] (Intoxication without Crop-sickness) containing 300 lines only.

(iii) The *Ka'ba-i-Didar*[89] (The Temple of Meeting) containing 3000 lines.

(iv) The *Safinatus-Sakina* (The Boat or Book of Repose) a long poem containing 6000 lines.

(v) The *Ka'batul Haramayn* (The Temple of two Sanctuaries), containing 4000 verses and composed in India just before the *'Arafat.*

(vi) The *Lawh-i-mahfuz* (The Preserved or Divine Tablet).

(vii) The *Qalam-i-Qudrat* (The Pen of Providence).

II. The following eleven *Diwans of Qasidas* and *Ghazals* :-

(i) The *Nusratul-'Arifin* (The Success of Gnostics)–Diwan of *qasidas* and *muqatta'at*, containing eulogical poems in praise of *Imams* and satirical poems against worldly persons.

(ii) The *Tadhkiratul-'Ashiqin*[90] (The Biography of Lovers) containing 9000 lines. Its first half from "الف" to "د" is preserved in R.A.S.B. Collection, Calcutta (Ivanow 733), and there is another *diwan* preserved in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, India (Alphabetical Index of MSS. No. 7).

(iii) Diwan of *tarkib* and *tarji-'bands.*

(iv) Fragments (*qitas*), Pleasantries (*muta'ibat*) Satires (*muhajat*) and Quatrains (*rubais*).

(v) Diwan of *'Ainul Hayat* (The stream or Eye of Life), a collection of his Indian compositions excluding[91] the *mathnawi.*

(vi) *Diwan-i-Ummidabad*–a collection of poems parallel to those of *Ummidi.*

(vii) *Diwan-i-Admiyat*[92] (The Diwan of Humanity).

(viii) *Bahram-i-Dastan*–A collection of *ghazals.*

(ix) *Diwan-i-Qand-i-Mukarrar* (The Sugar-candy Twice refined) also known as *Shir-u-Shakar* (The Milk and Sugar).

(x) *Diwan-i-Jawahir-i-Zawahir* (The Beautiful Gems).

(xi) *Diwan-i-Durar-i-Ghurar* (The Illustrious Pearls). The last two are the collections of his *qasidas*.

(xii) The *Rubaiyat-i-Ausfiya-u-Asnafiya*, pertaining to Astrology, from which omens were taken, were 1000 in number (*'Arafat*).

III. Prose works:-

1. *Surma-i-Sulaymani* (The Collyrium[93] of Onyx), being a lexicon of pure Persian words (لغات فرس و دری),[94] is indicative of Awhadi's skill in lexicography and interest in pure Persian. N. Bland, on the basis of the *Suhuf-i-Ibrahimi*, has called[95] it *Surma-i-Sulayman*, which has been adopted by Sprenger[96]. But it is incorrect, for its title, as invariably found in the *'Arafat*[97], in both the MSS. of the same book and in the two[98] MSS. of the *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim*, is *Surma-i-Sulaymani*. Bland has again erred[99] in stating it to be founded on the *Burhan-i-Qati* '(which has subsequently been adopted by Sprenger[100] and A. Muqtadir[101]). The lexicon, *Burhan-i-Qati'*, was finished[102] in A.H. 1062/1652 by Muhammed Husain of Tabriz with the pen-name, Burhan, at Golcunda during the reign of 'Abdullah Qutbshah (A.H. 1035/1624-1083/1672), while Awhadi's lexicon was completed between A.H. 1009/1600 and 1013/1604. The fact is that the author of the *Burhan-i-Qati'* has enumerated the *Surma-i-Sulaymani* among his source books. This is fully confirmed by the following statement available in the *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim*[103]:-

بالجمله تقی مذکور عالی نسب صوفی مشرب از معارف سخنوران است بغایت استعداد لغت دانی داشت- کتابی درلغت موسوم بسرمۂ سلیمانی نوشت که ماخذ برهان است-

The short vowel (i) (زیر) below "ماخذ" was passed over by Bland and the word was taken was equivalent to ماخذش; thereby he committed an act of anachronism.

When Taqi[104] finished his dictionary at Isfahan, Sururi[105] accused him of plagiarism and gave a malicious report to Mirza Muhammad Wazir Khurasani. "The Governor", says Taqi, "reprimanded Sururi and the latter had to leave Isfahan for Kashan, but went again after Awhadi had settled in India".

Sururi's *Majmaul-Furs*, from which Taqi was accused of having committed plagiarism, was completed at Isfahan in A.H. 1008/1599[106] and dedicated to Shah 'Abbas (d. A.H. 1038/1629). The author, however, completed a revised edition with the help of the

Farhang-i-Jahangiri (finished in A.H. 1016/1607), a copy of which he secured in A.H. 1028/1618, as is evident from a note appearing on the flyleaf of all MSS. of the later edition. But Awhadi's episode is related to the date of the first edition, for he left Isfahan for India in A.H. 1015/1606 and never came back. From this it is also evident that Awhadi's lexicon was finished after A.H. 1009/1600, for in that year he had returned to Isfahan after four years. Thus the whole episode of the rupture of the two authors, Sururi's complaint and the subsequent order of his quitting the city and staying in Kashan, ended before A.H. 1014/1604-5. Hence the *Surmai-Sulaymani*[107] may be assigned to *Circa* A.H. 1011-12/1602-3.

2. The *Kafiyatul-Qafiya* [108] (The Kafiya of Poem or Rhyme).
3. The *Miftahu'l Mafatih-i-'Ainiyat*. This mystical treatise along with a *Diwan of ghazals* was lost in the author's own lifetime in Qazwin. The writing of such treatises indicates Awhadi's adherence to sufism, which tendency he inherited from his fore-fathers.
4. The *Jafr-i-Awhad* (The Unique Jafr), a treatise on the art of making amulets or charms or that of divining from certain characters written by Hazrat 'Ali upon a camel's skin, which contains all events – past, present and future.
5. The *'Arafat-i-'Ashiqin-u-'Arsat-i'Arifin*.[109] This is a general biography of Persian poets quoted most concisely as the *'Arafat-i-' Ashiqin* and also familiarly as the *'Arafat*, but the full title appears in the book as *'Arafat-u-Ghurufat-i-'Ashiqin-u- 'Arsat-u-'Arzat-i-' Arifin*, which is in consonance with the convention of the age noted for assigning double titles generally rhyming together. Taqi Awhadi has further created alliteration and puns by using such words as begin with same letter "ع", besides rhyming among themselves.

The title of the book, as given in the *Guldasta*, is a little different from what is actually found in the *'Arafat* itself. At one place[110] in the said *Guldasta*, it is quoted on the authority of Awhadi's shorter *Tadhkira*, viz., the *Ka'ba-i-'Irfan*, as *'Arafatu'l-'Arifin-u-'Arsatu'l- 'Ashiqin*, while at a second place,[111] concisely as *'Aratatu'l-'Arifin* and this latter title is exactly found in the *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim*[112] as well. In other words, in the title as given in the *'Arafat* itself, the relation of the genitive case is expressed by joining *Kasra*

to the governing noun which is common in Persian, while in the *Guldasta* and the *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim* the *Kasra* has been replaced by the Arabic 'ال'. The other point of difference is that in the *'Arafat*, the word *"Ashiqin"*, is preceeded by *"Arafin"*, while in the other two words the reverse is the case.[113]

Awhadi had compiled an anthology of verses which he had named *Firdaws-i-Khayal-i-Awhadi*. The numerical value of letters gives the date[114] A.H. 1020/1611. This was arranged at the suggestion of his friend, Haider Hamadani, who had accompanied him to India, and it contains all the specimens of poetry he had collected in six years[115] between Shiraz and Gujarat. Afterwards when he was staying at Agra, one of the nobles of Jahangir's court induced him to remodel his work and to include in it memoirs of the several authors quoted. Thus it is evident that the *Firdaws-i-Khayal* was the precusor of the *'Arafat*. From the *Guldasta* one may conclude that Emperor Jahangir suggested that the book be completed. But we have seen that during the period of the completion of the *Tadhkira*, the Emperor was away from the capital to which he returned more than five years later. Besides, there is no reason why Awhadi should have purposely refrained from disclosing a thing which was a unique honour bestowed on him.

In conclusion the author says that he commenced the work at Agra in A.H. 1022/1613 and finished it at the same place in A.H. 1024/1615; but curiously the chronogram, gives only 1020. N. Bland[116] and A. Muqtadir[117] inform us that the author of the *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim*[118] claims the *Tadhkira* to have been finished in Gujarat, but the MS. of the biography referred to, which I consulted, indicates that the *Ka'ba-i-'Irfan*, a selection of the *'Arafat*, was completed in Gujarat. However, according to the *Riyaz'ush-Shu'ara*[119] and the *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim*[120], the extracts it contained amounted to eighty thousand couplets.

The *'Arafat* is divided into 28 *Arasat*, each containing one letter of the alphabet. Each *Arsa* consists of three *Arsas* viz., of the ancient poet, those of the middle age, and those more modern.

Mss. of the 'Arafat. The MS. of Awhadi's *'Arafat* seems to be seldom found complete. Azad Bilgrami in his *Khizana-i-Amira* says that he had seen a copy of it containing the letters "ص" to "ی", but he had no copy to refer to at the time of writing the said

book. Khan-i-Arzu also complains of having only an incomplete copy of it. The MS. in the East India House used by N. Bland extends only to the 6th memoir under the letter "ق" and it is the only MS. now available in Europe. Sprenger had no MS. of it. Shibli Nu'mani used it, but I am unable to give the details of the MS. consulted by him. Fortunately, a very rare copy of this biography is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, Patna (India), complete in two parts, bound separately. These two parts may not be regarded as two volumes on the ground that this was not intended by the author but done later on for purposes of facility. The two parts comprise 420 and 397 folls., respectively. The Colophon at the end of the second part says that the MS. was transcribed by order of Mir Sabir, 14th Jumada, A.H. 1050, that is, within ten years of the author's death.

The following note, written in bold *Nasta'liq*, is found on the fly-leaf at the beginning of the first part :—

بتاریخ بست و هفتم شهر ذی حجه سنه ۱۱۲۳ هجری این کتاب مستطاب را
در مستقر الملك صوبهٔ اکبر آباد هدیه نموده شده حق تعالی توفیق مطالعه دهاد۔

The above is followed by a mutilated seal, most probably containing the name of the writer of the note. (Size 14 × 8¼; 9¾ × 5; lines 25 to a page).

A full tabulated index, containing names of 3186 poets, is given at the beginning of the first part. It may be noted that the second and the third *'Arafat* under the letter "ح" are omitted, and the notices of 138 poets, named in the index under the two *'Arafat* are missing. But apparently there is no defect in the body of the MS. at this stage pointing to the defect of the original of this copy.

The second copy of the *'Arafat* is preserved in the Kitab-Khana- i-Nilli Malik, Tehran. It contains 608 foll. of 34 cm. 22.2 cm size. It is in *Nasta'liq* hand and, though not dated, it is one of the oldest copies, as it bears the seals of various nobles of the court of Jahangir, Shahjahan, Aurangzeb and Muhammad Shah. But the second and the third *Arafats* under the letter "گ" and all the three *Arafats* under the letters "گ" and "ل" are missing in the copy.

The third MS.[121] is preserved in the Asafiya Library, (Hyderabad Deccan). It is written in fine *Nasta'liq* with a golden margin. It is extremely worn out; a number of pages are blank,

wiped out probably by water and rain. The MS. is incomplete and begins with the name of Abul Fath Nasiruddin and ends with Dia-uddin Muhammad Sabiri.

The fourth and fifth copies are in the possession of John Rylands at Manchester (Hand list of Oriental MSS. p. 223 nos. 314 and 635, respectively); but the former is wanting in biographies of poets, hence it is similar to *Firdaws-i-Khayal-i Awhadi* and may thereafter be deemed identical with it.

6. The *Ka'ba-i-'Irfan* (The temple of knowledge).–Awhadi himself made a concise[122] edition of the *'Arafat*. Probably he was motivated to prepare an abridged edition of the *'Arafat*, because it must have been gradually revealed to him that its great bulk is the main hindrance in the way of its popularity. The rare manuscript of it preserved in the Malik Library, Tehran, indicates that it is a sort of album or anthology completely devoid of biographical details. Even the poetical passages quoted in the *'Arafat-en-extenso* have in most cases been removed. The names of some of the poets mentioned in the biography have also been dropped. The whole material of the *'Arafat* has been rearranged. The first poet is Abul Ma'ali Razi whose two lines against 64 of the *'Arafat* are given in it.[123]

The *Ka'ba-i-'Irfan*, being less voluminous, was more popular than the *'Arafat* and it lent its assistance as an authority to the *Riyaz'ush-Shu'ara* and the *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim*.

This book, though an independent work, was finished in A.H. 1036/1626-27, i.e., twelve years after the completion of the *'Arafat*.

7. *Intikhab-i-Ka'ba-i-'Irfan*. Taqi Awhadi again made another selection from the concise *Ka'ba-i-'Irfan*. It was more a rearrangement than a selection. Both the *'Arafat* and the *Ka'ba* were divided into 28 *Arsas*, each containing one letter of the alphabet, and the general division was into three *'Arafats*, viz., of the ancient poets, those of the middle age and those more modern. But this arrangement being felt less scientific, the author, according to the *Guldasta*,[124] made an attempt to remodel it and prepared three *Rukns*, namely, *Hannani*, *Mannani* and *Dayyani* for three catagories of poets.

It appears that this abridgement was made under instructions from Jahangir. But this is doubtful on the ground that the book

could not be deemed to have been finished earlier than A.H. 1037/1627, for its original, viz., the *Ka'ba-i-'Irfan* was itself completed in A.H. 1036/1626; while the Mughal Emperor died on the 28th[125] Safar, 1037, that is, before the close of the second month of the said year, in Kashmir, hundreds of miles away from Gujarat where Awhadi was residing.

IV. Awhadi had collected the works and compiled them into a *Diwan of a number of poets.* Of these we specifically know the *Kulliyyat* of Wahshi and Mujrim to have been compiled by this author.[126] The latter's *Diwan* was compiled[127] after his death in A.H. 1020/1611, in accordance with the wishes of the deceased.

Sprenger gives a description of Awhadi's *Kulliyat*, which he calls a collection of the author's complete poetical works and the contents of which are as follows:-

1. A preface in prose.
2. *Qasidas* in praise of the Imams, 59 pages, 15 bayts.
3. *Ghazals*, 189, pp., 14 bayts.
4. *Rubays*, 144 pp., to bayts.......

Top Khana, a fair copy; Asiatic Society No. 912, an abstract of the *Diwan* copied by Jaswant Singh Parwana in A.H. 1196. Over every poem is written the date and the place where the poet composed it, for example, Shiraz, 991, Isfahan, 1012, Ahmedabad, 1021, 1031, Agra, 1023.[128]

The above codex of about 4000 lines contained poems composed between sometime earlier than A.H. 991/1583 and later than A.H. 1031/1612. This indicates that none of the *Diwans* noticed in the *Guldasta* is equally comprehensive either in respect of variety of verse-forms or the period it covers. It might be a select *Kulliyat* of his works prepared by some one either in the author's own lifetime or shortly after his death.

The long list of Awhadi's prose and poetical works would lead us to believe that he was a versatile writer, a good poet, a successful historian and one of the most important biographers of Iran.

Notes

1. I have preferred to call it *'Arafat-i-Ashiqin'* instead of *'Arafat-ul-Ashiqin'* for the reason that Taqi Awhadi has assigned exactly the same title to it.
2. Preface to the *Lububul-Albab*, Leyden, 1903, Part II, p. 6.

3. N. Bland had a difficulty in fixing this name from the MS. where it appeared sometimes to be Nafaq, Waqaq, Waqqf. He however, found the surname Daqqaq in some memories of Ibn Khallikan (De Slane's Translation). But in the Bankipur Codex it is nothing but Daqqaqi, vide also *Kashful-Mahjub*, Urdu Translation p. 151; *Tadhkiratul-Awliya*, Vol. 1, pp. 24, 255; *Nafhatul-Uns*. p. 243, *Safinatul-Awliya*, p. 159. Abu Ali Daqqaq died in A.H. 405-6.
4. The two last named titles have been explained by Bland in this way: "Born at Balban and residing at Isfahan" But this is incorrect inasmuch as the actual words "ثم الصفاهانی" i.e., afterwards of Safahan (Isfahan), imply that originally he was from Balban (or correctly Balyan) and subsequently he became a Isfahani. That is to say, his forefathers belonged to Balyan and as such he is Balyani; but as he was born at Isfahan and had resided there for a long time, he called himself Isfahani.
5. He is stated to be buried at a place near Jurbadqan, which is situated in the vicinity of Kashan and Khawansar. It is an ancient city and was originally called Sumra but subsequently, after its prosperity, Gulbadkan, which was Arabicised as modern Jurbad qan. (*Haft-IqlimI*, fol. 343).
6. The word has been spelt as Balbani, but in the Bankipur codex of the *Arafat* the word is spelt as Balyan and Balyani three or four times, which is fully confirmed by Tehran MS. of the *'Arafat* as well as the Tehran MS. of the *Surma-i-Sulaimani*. But the Bankipur Catalogue has preferred to give Balban and Balbani. Sprenger, while giving the genealogical table of Awhadud-Din appends Balyani or Bulgani to his name on the authority of Jami's *Nafahatul-Uns*, the printed copy of which clearly bears Balyani in place of Balbani. In later *Tadhkiras* like *Riazush-Shuara*, *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim*, and *Subh-i-Gulshan* 'Balbani' has been preferred. Even Dr. Muhammad Muin of Tehran University has preferred to call it as such. (vide the *Burhan-i-Qati*, Tehran ed. Vol. 1 مقدمه p. 86 footnote no. 1 and text p. 'د', f. n. 5). But in the *Burhan-i-Qati*, Vol. 1 p. 302, the following note appears:

   'بلیان بفتح اول ------ نام قریه ایست از ولایت گاز رون و آنجا محل و مرقد اولیاء الله بسیار است گویند خضر علیه اسلام آن قریه رابنا کرده است و منسوب بنام نامی خود که بلیان است، ساخته است۔'

   In the *Shiraz Nameh* this information has been supplied:-

   'بلیان قریه، از قرای گاز رون است'
7. Preface.
8. "قریه" may be equivalent to a village; but since "دون" a town in the same district has been called a "قریه" in the *Haft-Iqlim* (Lucknow University Codex, fol. 71), I prefer to call Balyan a town rather than a village.
9. Or Kazrun; it is an important city even today and is situated between Shiraz and Bushahr at a distance of 115 kilometers from the former city. Vide also the *Haft-Iqlim*, fol. 70b.
10. In the Bankipur MS. of the *Arafat* the word "بن" preceding 'Muhammad' in the names of both the father and the son, is certainly due to an error in the transcription; while in the Tehran edition of the *Burha-i-Qati*, Vol. 1 (preface) p. 86, f. n. 1, "سعد الدین" is erroneously substituted for "سعید الدین" According to his own statement in the *Arafat*, fol. 72a, Awhadi's grandfather was a preacher. This is fully confirmed by the term "الواعظ" append-

ed with the latter's name in both the knwon MSS. of Awhadi's *Surma-i-Sulaimani.*

11. *Arafat*, fol. 72a.
12. In the *Arafat* it is mentioned how people reported the matter toMir Ghiyathud-Din Mansur who sent for him and was amazed to learn about his unusual excellences.
13. In the *Makhzanul-Gharaib* it is stated that his *majlis* at Qazwin was attended by Shah Tahmasp (Storey, *Persian Lit.*, p. 808 f. n.)
14. Vide preface and fol. 72a.
15. The event as stated both in the preface and in the body of the book indicates that his arrival in India was not preplanned but only accidental.
16. He is stated to have died in the Deccan (India) in A.H. 979.
17. Such as the authors of the *Guldasta, Riazush-Shuara* and *Subh-i-Gulshan*; but in the first named the word "Muhammad" is dropped.
18. But in the *Arafat*, he has sometimes given his full name as is mentioned in the *Tadhkiras.*
19. *Oudh Catalogue*, p. 576.
20. *Bankipur Catalogue*, Vol. VIII (Persian) p. 75.
21. Viz., Ali Ibrahim Khalil, see the *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim*, p. 288.
22. Abdul Muqtadir is not correct in stating that Awhadi was his pen name for we have verses under the *Takhallus*, Taqi (vide also Storey: *Persian Lit.*, p. 808, f.n.).
23. In Bland's MS. of the *Arafat*, the day of the month is missing, Journal, Vol. IX, p. 134. But according to *"Comparative Tables"* 1939, p. 49 the 1st Muharram fell on Sunday.
24. Preface.
25. Taqi himself quoted this chronogram in the preface:

    زانکه تاریخ سال مولودم   'طلب شاه نعمت اللّٰه است

    The above saint had appeared to his mother in her dream and had blessed her with a male child.
26. Name of a Syrian month corresponding with April, rain drops of which are believed to possess the extraordinary quality of producing pearls if they fall into the oyster shells, and venom if they drop upon serpents.
27. Taqi did not see his father, as he himself says:

    (account of his father) اما مخلص اورا هر گز بدیدهٔ شهود ندیده ام

    (Preface) پدر را خود در اصل ندیده ام
28. "ریاضی" but N. Bland gives geometry (Journal, IX, p. 134).
29. "حکمت" but N. Bland translates as divine philosophy (*Ibid*).
30. Once the Shah saw something in a dream and shortly thereafter he decided to open such schools at all important centres in his dominion (preface).
31. Preface.
32. Awhadi has bewailed much and composed these lines:

    امروزتقی مرکز عشاق منم   بلیانی و اوحدی و دقاق منم

    الیاس زمان و خضر آفاق منم   چون در یتیم در جهان طاق منم
33. The description of Awhadi's *Kulliyyat* (Topkhana Codex) as given by Sprenger (Oudh Cat., p. 576) indicates that in A.H. 991/1583 he was at Shiraz as a number of poems bear the same date and place. It further

testifies to Awhadi's early accomplishments in this art. He could compose chaste verses when below eighteen.

34. It is difficult to fix a correct reading of this name; in Bankipur and Tehran Codexes it is like "قاری" while Bland gives Mirqay.
35. He had attained the age of twenty years that time, as he says:

پس در اتمام سنه عشرین زمان حیات از شیراز بعراق مراجعت نمودم

36. Kashan and Qum are at a distance of 282 and 233 kilometers, respectively, to the north of Isfahan.
37. Taqi went to Kashan again in A.H. 1001/1592; but here he refers to his first visit on the ground that on that 2nd visit the poet had died.
38. *'Arafat*, foll. 579 and 522.
39. Awhadi himself has given the duration of his stay as five years, which is not confirmed by other details, for in A.H. 996/1588 he was away from Shiraz and again in A.H. 1000/1591 he was not there.
40. In the Tehran Codex the word is doubtful. It may be read as نبکی or نیکی But he was popularly called شاه پسند .
41. By this time Taqi had composed more than 12000 lines of verses and compiled a *Diwan*, which was unfortunately lost in Qazwin, and on the occasion of writing the *'Arafat*, he did not remember even a single line of the lost verses.
42. He was one of the Nuqtavians or Pasikhanians. For details vide the شماره ۱۳ ایران کوده, p. 7, vide also the Tehran and Aligarh University MSS. of the *Maykhana* and Oriental College Magazine, (the writer's article, تذکرۂ میخانہ کا ایک اہم مخطوطہ), Nov. 1956, p. 61.
43. *'Arafat*, fol. 699b.
44. The date is given in the *'Arafat*, (preface), which is also confirmed by the *Riyazush Shu'ara* and *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim* (p. 288), but in the *Suhf-i-Gulshan* (p. 88) a wrong date, i.e., A.H. 1005 (خمس و الف) is given.
45. In the *Tuzuk* (p. 2) the day and the date of Jahangir's accession are given as Thursday, 7th Jumada II, 1014/10th October, 1605. The author heard the news of the Emperor's death when he was travelling from Shiraz to Kirman.
46. See *'Arafat*, fol. 166; *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, vol. III, Fisc. 2 p. 1476 Mu'arraf was a post the holder of which was the master of ceremonies and used to introduce the chamberlain.
47. See Rieu, Vol. III, p. 1993 and *Riyazush-Shu'ara*. There is a difference of opinion about his pen-name which is eithr Mujrim or Mahram. The first is preferred in Rieu.
48. Vide Bland: Journal, Vol. IX, p. 135. Awhadi has given a detailed account of his life in his *'Arafat* (vide account, of Mirza Haider Beg.)
49. Rieu, III, p. 1093.
50. These details are taken from the preface to the *'Arafat*.
51. *Tuzuk*, pp. 34, 37 and 42.
52. In hot pursuit of Khusraw, Jahangir hastened to Lahore and was encamping at this place during this time, *Ibid*.
53. He was the son of Mirza Jani Beg, the last Turkhan ruler of Sind, defeated by Khan-i-Khanan in A.H. 1000/1591. However, on accepting the Mughal suzerainty, he was appointed governor of Sind. On his death in A.H. 1008/1600-1 at Burhanpur, Ghazi Beg, who, though only a minor, had

looked after the affairs of Sind in his father's absence, was made the governor of his ancestral province of Sind and Thatha. On the occasion of Akbar's death and Jahangir's coronation he was at the capital and had followed Jahangir to Lahore.

54. *Tuzuk*, p. 42.
55. *Ibid* p. 64.
56. Fol. 518a where Ghazi Beg with the pen-name Wiqari has been stated as a promising poet.
57. Vide also *Maykhana*, p. 229.
58. He says:

    چون بلوهاور (= لاهور) داخل شدم تخت بادشاى -- بوجود شريف -- جهانگير شرف اختصاص يافته۔

    But Taqi was very much pleased with the city as he says:

    من مورم و اوج طلعتم لاهور است

59. For details; see *Tuzuk*, pp. 34, 42, 44, 51, 56, 63, 65, 66.
60. But due to court intrigues Taqi did not attend the royal *darbar* as he says:

    فضلاء و شعراء از خست طبع و ذلت نفس پليد خود كار ديگران راهم ضائع و ابتر ساخته گوهر صاحب گهران را از اوج و قيمت انداخته۔

61. Preface to the *'Arafat*.
62. He came along with the Emperor.
63. Fol. 769, but the actual date appears to be 1016 which is incorrect for in that case his duration of stay in Gujarat would be more than 4 years which is impossible. He went there with one of his bosom friends.
64. Naziri came to Agra in Zi-Q'adah, 1019/January 1611 and returned to Gujarat after a few days. (*Tuzuk*, p. 92).
65. *'Arafat*, fol. 434.
66. Persian MSS., Vol. VIII, p. 77.
67. *'Arafat*, fol. 769.
68. *Oudh Cat.*, p. 576.
69. He himself says: حالت التحرير كه ۱۰۲۳ هست يك سال و نيم است كه در آگره توقفم
70. *Guldasta*, fol. 89b.
71. He commenced on the 1st ذى قعده 1022 A.H., C.F.

    و در زمان شروع اين نسخه كه غره ذى قعده سنه هزار و بيست و دو است در دارالسلطنت آگره مستقر نموده وقتى است كه پادشاه جهانگير -- شكار اجمير را عزم كرده آن حضرت رامخيم عساكر جاه و جلال ساخته اند و بنده بسبب اتمام اين نسخه --- در شهر آگره باز مانده ام و از مدت حياتم سال برچهل و نه مرور نموده۔

72. See *Tuzuk*, pp. 123, 125, 128, 138, 225 and 245.
73. See *'Arafat*, fol. 711 a where a sentence indicates that when Taqi was in Agra, the Emperor was at Ajmer.
74. The author of the *Guldasta*.
75. According to his own statement in the *'Arafat* (fol. 571a), Awhadi was at Ajmer in A.H. 1025/1616 and stayed there for some time. Since Jahangir was encamping at this place during this period, it may be claimed that Awhadi went there after completing the *'Arafat* with a view to meeting the Emperor. It may also be inferred that, instead of returning to Agra, Awhadi might have proceeded to Gujarat. As the Mughal Emperor is stated to have

arrived in Gujarat in Aban, A.H. 1026, it may be safely asserted that Awhadi accompanied him. The *Tadhkira* writers have generally overlooked his short stay in Ajmer. Only in the *Subh-i-Gulshan* (p. 88) he is stated to have resided there. But one who goes twice from Ahmadabad to Gujarat and *vice versa* must have passed through and stayed at Ajmer to pay a visit to the holy shrine of the renowned saint, Khwaja Mui'nud-Din Chishti, to whom Awhadi's adherence seems to be a probability. The city was, at the same time, the most important place in the midst of his journey.

76. *Oudh Cat.*, p. 576.
77. *Guldasta*, fol. 19b.
78. p. 88.
79. Vol. II. p. 1022.
80. *Oudh Cat.* p. 576.
81. Fol. 86b.
82. p. 522
83. In the *'Arafat* he himself has claimed to be the author of 32000 lines excluding 12000 lines lost previously in Qazwin.
84. In the *'Arafat* a list of 5 *mathnawis*, three *diwans*, *Surma-i-Sulaimani* and *Risala-i-Qafiya* is given. These were composed before A.H. 1022.
85. Fol. 89b.
86. The *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim* (p. 288) gives the transposed title; while in the *Subh-i-Gulshan* (d. 88) though the title is the same, it has been called a (prose) treatise.
87. The *Suhuf* (p. 288) gives *Nasha-u-Khumar*; while Bland (Journal IX, p. 135) and Sprenger (*Oudh Cat.*, p. 95 F.N.) give *Nithar-u-Khumar*, which is incorrect.
88. The *Subh-i-Gulshan* (p. 88) wrongly calls it *Ka'ba-i-Madar*, a prose treatise.
89. A different title *Tabsirul-'Arifin* appears in the *'Arafat*.
90. It indicates that Awhadi composed some *mathnawi* or *mathnawis* in India, as the seven such poems are arranged chronologically, at least the last one, namely, the *Qalam-i-Qudrat* may be regarded as an Indian composition.
91. In the *Guldasta*, Nos. 6-11 are quoted aftr the prose works, and the list so arranged is chronological; hence all these may be his Indian compositions. The absence of a separate *Diwan* of *rubais* is strange, for Sprenger Codex alone contained about 1440 verses of this form. It is probable that this *Diwan* might be a collection of his *rubais*.
92. Bland translates the title as "Collyrium for the Eyes of Sulayman" (Journal, IX, p. 135) and claims it to be associated with Sulayman, a Safawi Sultan; but it is incorrect for the said prince ascended the throne 64 years after its completion in A.H. 1076/1665.
93. In the *'Arafat* the word "دری" is not available.
94. Journal, IX p. 135. In the *Burhan-i-Qati'*, a wrong title, 'سرمۀ صفاهانی' is given (vide Vol. 1, p. 86 (preface) footnote no. 1, and p. "د" text. f. n. 5.
95. *Oudh Cat.*, p. 95 F. N.
96. Fol. 321 a.
97. *Bankipur Codex-Bankipur Cat.* Vol. VIII, p. 77 and Lucknow Codex, p. 288.
98. Journal IX. p. 135.
99. *Oudh Cat.*, p. 95.
100. *Bankipur Cat.* Vol. VIII. p. 77.

101. Ethe, p. 22, "کتاب نافی برهان قاطع" gives the date. The book has been published in four vols. from 1330 to 1335 in Tehran.
102. p. 288.
103. *'Arafat*, fol. 321a.
104. Sururi is stated to have arrived in India towards the close of Jahangir's reign. From Rieu we learn that in A.H. 1036/1627 he was at Lahore. For his life, see *Riyazush-Shu'ara* (account of Sururi), *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim*, p. 731, Rieu, ii, p. 498, *Oudh Cat.*, p. 26.
105. Amirud-Dawla Library MS. 1b; Rieu, Vol. II, p. 498.
106. Fortunately a rare MS. of the *Surma-i-Sulaymani* is preserved in the Malik Library, Tehran. It contains 185 fol. of 16 cm. by 8 cm. It is in *Nastaliq* hand. The beginning and the end are slightly damaged and two folios are missing. But both the preface and 'خاتمه' are mostly preserved. Beginning:

    ای ارادت ازلی نقطه ی تعین مدار   نیرنگیش که ذات مطلق معرا از یاس

    Another MS. is lodged with آقای مشکوة of Tehran University and a 3rd copy is preserved at Leningrad (Salemarr Rosen p. 16 no. 174).
107. It is a celebrated grammatical work. In the *'Arafat* it is followed by no. 600 which may point to the lines it contained.
108. According to N. Bland, it is one of those titles, in which, as in those of many Arabic books, the translatable sense is sacrificed to a sort of rhythm, if not rhyme. (Journal, Vol. IX, p. 136, F.N.).
109. Fol. 86b.
110. Fol. 21.
111. Fol. 288.
112. Vide Storey : *Persian Lit.*, p. 810 foot note 2 where a very interesting discussion about the title of the book is given.
113. Mr. N. Bland has calculated the date from the words "فردوس خیال" only, leaving "اوحدی" and without mentioning any reason therefore, he has given the date of its completion A.H. 991/1583 (Journal IX, p. 125). The same title and date have been adopted both by Sprenger (*Oudh Cat.* p. 95) and A. Muqtadir *Bankipur Cat.* Per. MSS. p. 77). But it is incorrect to claim an anthology of A.H. 991/1582-3 to contain verses collected between A.H. 1015/1506 and 1020/1511.
114. We have stated above that Taqi must have stayed in Gujarat upto the closing months of the year 1021/1612 on the ground that towards the close of A.H. 1015/1606 he left Shiraz and a period of 6 years elapsed between Shiraz and Gujarat. Hence the question of his leaving Gujarat in A.H. 1020/1611 as is evident from the date obtained from the words, "فردوس خیال اوحدی" is doubtful.
115. Journal, IX, p. 136.
116. *Bankipur Cat.*, viii, p. 77.
117. p. 288.
118. Account of Awhadi.
119. p. 288.
120. I am indebted to Dr. M.A. Mu'id Khan, Secretary, *Islamic Culture* Board for supplying the above information. The MS. is described in the Asafiya Library, *Fihrist*, Vol. 3, No. 209.
121. Vide the *Guldasta*, Fol. 89b. It is a selection of the *Ka'ba-i-'Irfan*, completed

in A. H. 1155 by Abdul Wahhab Alamgiri.

122. It contains 233 folios and is dated A.H. 1171. For another copy vide John. Rylands: Hand list of Oriental MSS. No. 314.
123. Fol. 2.
124. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. 2, page 434.
125. Vide the *'Arafat*, Fol. 789b.
126. *Riyazush-Shu'ara* (account of Mujrim).
127. *Oudh Cat.*, p. 576.

INFLUENCE OF PERSIAN ON INDIAN LANGUAGES

Close cultural relations have existed between India and Iran from times immemorial, and have developed and grown with the passage of time. These contacts encouraged Iranian emigrations to India which continued unabated throughout the medieval period and stopped only with the extinction of the Mughal Empire in the 19th century.

The Persian settlers and visitors provided the nucleus for the growth of the Persian language in India and gave a fillip to literary activity in this country. For centuries some of the best minds that India has produced have used the medium of Perisan for the communication of their ideas, and through this language we have established contact and corresponded with the outside world.

The date of the beginning of the cultural contacts between Iran and India cannot be exactly fixed. They go back to a very remote past. Linguistics have found close affinities between the linguistic mechanics of the Vedic Sanskrit and the Avesta. This identity extends even to the connotation of terms and concepts. The Asure varuna of Rig Veda is the same as the Ahura of the Avesta. During the Achaemenian period (550-330 B.C.) contacts between Iran and India became distinct and clear; India is mentioned in various inscriptions of Darius the great (522-486 B.C.) at Persepolis, Naqsh-i-Rustam and Bisutoun, but traces of cultural relations are not discernible. However during the Sassanid period (226-642 A.D.) closer contacts were established resulting in the widening of the area of collaboration. It was during this period that Anusherwan sent his personal physician and philosopher, Barzuya to visit India. Barzuya took with him a large number of articles from India including the famous story of *Panch Tantra* which has attracted so many scholars of Persia and other lands. Cultural links with Iran increased when Punjab with its capital at Lahore became a part of the Ghaznavid Empire. A number of Iranians and other Persian speaking peoples settled down in this region. In due course Lahore became a great literary centre and produced poets like Abul Faraj Runi and Masud-i-Sad-i-Salman

whose great poetic skill has elicited glowing tributes from Iranian scholars.

The establishment of Ghorid power in India proved very conducive to the popularisation of Persian in India. At the very outset of the Muslim rule Persian was made the official and cultural language of this country. Liberal patronage of the rulers attracted hordes of scholars, poets, divines, Sufis and others to their courts from the Persian speaking lands of Iran and Transoxiana. Thus the lamp of Persian was kept burning for centuries with renewed brightness.

Since the beginning of the 13th century the influence of Persian grew steadily. It reached its climax in the Mughal period especially under Akbar the Great whose vision imparted a new out-look to Persian. Although with the decline of Muslim power in India Persian was relegated to the back ground, still its great impact on Indian culture, languages, literature, art, painting etc. is an undeniable fact.

During the last seven or eight centuries enormous literature bearing on the life and conditions of the people of Hindustan has been produced in Persian. Historical works, Tazkiras, biographical works, poetical compositions, works on mathematics, astronomy, astrology, art of administration, art of war, medicine and a host of other topics, have been produced in Persian and for centuries the administration of the country has been carried on in this language.

When Delhi or Agra issued instructions to provincial governments in distant Gujarat or Deccan or Bengal or Kashmir it was the Persian language which was the medium of all this official correspondence. A large volume of papers; a*kbharat*, *farman*, *parwanas* etc. preserved in the Indian Archives are a testimony of the important place the language occupied in the administration of the country.

Apart from this one cannot ignore an other important fact: the Persian language has played a leading role in the transmission of Indian historical heritage and classical literature to the outside world. For example it was through Dara Shikoh's Persian translation that Europe came to know of the *Upanishads*.

We should be justly proud of the fact that the earliest work on Tasawwuf in Persian–*Kashf ul-Mahjoob*–was written in India and the

first Tazkira of Persian poets–*Lubab-ul-Albab*–was also compiled in this country. The *Adab-ul-Harb wasi Shuja'at* of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir is probably the earliest work in Persian on the science of warfare and it was written in India and dedicated to Altutmish. In the field of historical writings, the *A'in-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl has an unrivalled place in the whole range of Persian literature. It is unique not merely in Persian literature but "we have nothing like it even in Europe". Abul Fazl's statistical study is remarkable and in a way is the earliest attempt at the compilation of Gazetteers.

In the field of Persian lexicography, it is interesting to find that after Asadi's *Lughat-i-Furs*, the earliest Persian dictionary–*Farhang Nama-i-Qawwas*–was compiled in India during the reign of Sultan 'Alaud-Din Khalji. This was followed by four other lexicons namely D*astur-ul Afazil* (743 A.H.), *Adat-ul Fuzala* (822 A.H.), *Zufan-i Guya* (before 837 A.H.) and *Bahr-ul Fazail* (837 A.H.). Iran has failed to produce lexicographers of the stature of Husain Inju, the author of *Farhang-i- Jahangiri*, Abdul Rashid, the author of *Farhang-i-Rashidi, Lughat-i Shahjahani* and *Mu'arrabat-i Rashidi*, Muhammad Husain Burhan, the author of "*Burhan-i Qate*" Khan-i-Arzu, the author of *Siraj-ul Lughat* and *Musmir*, and Tek Chand Bahar, the author of *Bahar-e Ajam*.

The poetic literature produced in Persian by the Indian poets deserves patient investigation by research scholars. There is still enormous literature which lies buried in undeciphered *biaz* collections and uncatalogued works in libraries and private collections. Of the poets of the Ilberite period, the compositions of Siraji, 'Amid Loiki, Burhan-ud Din Bazzaz, Tajud-Din Bukhari, 'Izz-ud Din 'Alawi, Hakim Tartari, and Mahmoud Khattar have been discovered only recently.

As least 50 collections of poets produced during the reign of Akbar are traceable in Indian and foreign libraries. It is about this time that these works were properly edited and published.

In fact the literature produced in India in Persian can justify a ful project of Bio-biliographical survey.

Apart from original compilations, we have a number of translations made into Persian from Sanskrit, Arabic and Turkish. The translations of *Mahabbarat* and *Ramayana* made at the instance of Akbar should be made available in authoritative editions as early

as possible. The translations of Qazi Abu Ali al-Hasan's *Al-Faraj ba'd al-Shiddah* by 'Aufi, of Alberuni's *Saidna* by Abu Bakr Kasani, of Ghazzali's *Ibya-al Ulum* by Jajarmi, of Suhrawardi's *'Awarif-ul Ma'arif* by Qasim-i Daud and Ibn-i Khallikan's *Wafiyat al A'yan* by Yusuf B. Ahmad are too important and significant to be ignored.

Persian which had been the language of court and culture in India for many centuries, had influenced Indian life in its varied form. Indian polity, Indian social life, Indian art and painting, Indian music, Indian philosophy, Indian architecture, Indian languages and their literatures have all vivid signs of Persian impact on them. In the evolution of the composite culture of our country Persian has played a highly significant role. A thorough study of Persian influence on the various aspects of our cultural life needs patient investigations by eminent scholars. This article is an humbe attempt to trace the influence of Persian on some of the major Indian languages and their literatures. I am fully aware of my limitations and cannot calim to have dealt with the tople in an exhaustive manner for which I beg to be excused.

It has been accepted on all hand that almost all the languages in vogue in India during the time of Persian ascendancy have been influenced by Persian in varying degrees. The beginning of the modern Indo-Aryan languages coincides with the establishment of the Muslim rule in India and hence it was inevitable that all of them should have absorbed elements from Persian. Even Sanskrit could not remain unaffected. When astronomical works from the School of central Asia came to India, a number of technical terms were borrowed in Sanskrit. The same thing happened when *al-Majisti* was rendered into Sanskrit from Arabic under the patronage of Raja Jai Singh Traces of Persian influence on Sanskrit are visible in Kashmir even earlier than the establishment of the Muslim rule there. On the basis of the *Rajatarangini* it has been shown that the official designations like *divir* or *divira* and *Ganjavara* denote the influence of Pre-Islamic Iran on Sanskrit. The Shah Mir dynasty which was established in Kashmir in 1339 A.D. paved the way for the influx of a number of Persian words into Sanskrit. Words like Shahi, Surtana, Khwas and Silahdar occuring in those parts of the *Lokapraska* which were written during the Muslim rule bear out this fact. Similarly the appearance of words like Khatun,

Khanqah, Malik, Masida, Madrasa and Ravava in the Sanskrit chronicles by Jonaraja, Shrivarar, Prajyabhatta and Suka bear eloquent testimony to the influence of Persian on Sanskrit. Dr. Tarachand has quoted the following Perso-Arabic words in the poetical works of Lakshmipati, a Sanskrit poet of the early 18th century:

زھر، گناہ، دل، کم بخت، شیر، جواب، وزیر، دشمن، مشتری، شرح، پیل، خبر، مہتاب، غسل، حلال، آسمان، فراموشی، برداشت، دلیل۔

For similar reasons various languages and dialects of India borrowed liberally numerous Persian loan-words, of course each in a varying degree.

Indian languages are of two family-groups, Northern, Eastern, Western and North-Western, are of the Aryan family. This group includes Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Assamese, Uriya, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Gujarati and Marathi alongwith a number of dialects. The south-Indian languages viz. Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam are Dravidian languages. To this latter group belongs the Brahui language which is in vogue in a part of Baluchistan.

The Dravidian languages are distincly of a different family as is conclusively proved by their numbers, nomenclature of relations, case endings and pronouns etc. Of these Telugu is influenced by Persian more than others. The Arabic vocabulary available in the Telugu writings also came via Persian. The influence of Persian is both linguistic and literary. There is no walk of life from the market place to the administration headquarters where Persian vocabulary is not freely used. A few examples will suffice:

عرضی، دستاویز، فریاد، دریافت، زمیندار، حق، معتبری، سپارس، مدعی، حاضر، ضبط، بازار، شربت، صندو کایا (صندوق) صبو (صابون)، گلابی (گلاب)۔

I am told there are hundreds of such words in free use by the Telugu people in their spoken language. Naturally phonetical and semantic changes have taken place in Perso-Arabic words from time to time and got adopted in the host language. e.g.,

آ < آ = واہ وا < وہ وا

ہ < آ = امیر < ہمیر

Some times even a plural word has been taken for a singular and the plural has been formed by adding its particular plural suffix. e.g. from مراتب (which is plural form of مرتبہ) the Telugu plural is 'Maratibulu'. Even in forming compounds some times

Persian word is borrowed. For example in Telugu there is a word, پٹھانی بارو دلدار It is composed of the following :

پٹھانی is Hindi
بارو is Telugu
دل is Sanskrit
دار is Persian

Some times a Persian adjective is used as a noun. For instance 'Najuku' (from Persian adjective نازك) is used as a noun in Telugu. Persian had exercised some influence on Telugu literature as well. But this influence is quite recent. There are instances of the diction of poets of 19th or 20th century being influenced by Perso-Arabic vocabulary. The credit for this change goes mainly to the Fitzgerald's version of the *Rubaiyat-i Omar Khayyam*. These *Rubaiyat* were rendered in Telugu from English translation by eminent poets of whom Royaprulu and Ramareddi are very well known. But two other equally eminent poets viz. Umar Ali Shah and Dr. Rama Krishna Rao translated Khayyam from the original Persian. Some Telugu poets have no doubt been influenced by Persian romanticism and Sufism.

Linguistically Kannada is only next to Telugu in adopting Persian loan-words. It is a strange phenomenon that some Kannada words of daily occurence are influenced by Perso-Arabic vocabulary. For instance the first part of the verb 'Shru-Vayitu' meaning "began" is Arabic شروع. Some Persian words are used for religio-cultural occasions. For instance 'mejuwani' is the word used for a special function during marriage ceremony among the South-Indian Hindus. Quite obviously, it is the Persian word میزبانی. Another word of similar cultural importance is 'Paraku' which is borrowed from the Arabic فراغ . Some of the Persian vocabulary of Kannada is as follows :

زمین، زمیندار، دستاویز، بندوبست، میجا (میز)، سربرائی (سربراهی)، سپارس، سبائی، کبول، انداز، کهجانے (خزانه) کاگدا (کاغذ)، کانون (قانون)، کست، گماستے، گلابی (گلاب)، چاکری، حساب، جاگیر، نگد (نقد)، مجوری، رومال، سرکار، سواری، سامان، هد (حد)، آواز، استر۔

In Tamil which is one of the most ancient languages of the Dravidian stock, the Persian influence is at its minimum. Tamil has eschewed to a large extent even the influence of Sanskrit.

However, it is not completely free from Perso-Arabic impact. The phrase "Parava Illai" though equivalent to "پــروا نہیــں" means "it does not matter". Thus the semantic change is quite clear in it.

The people of Kerala whose language is Malayalam had been in direct contact with the Arabs from very ancient times. Numerous Arabic words, therefore, found their way into this language. But occasionally one would come accrose Persian vocabulary which accounts for its influx from the north. It is stated that Tipu Sultan whose court language was Persian annexed a part of the modern Kerala and added it to his dominion. Thus Mysorians whose mother tongue was Dakhani Urdu, chose to move to Kerala. This resulted in the introduction of a few Persian administrative and official terms in Malayalam. It would suffice to quote a few words:

سبائی، سواری، سرکار، شکار، میتانم، (میدان)، یاداست (یادداشت)، سراسری (سرسری)، شمار، مساوری (مسافری)، متاب (مہتاب)، بیشکار، تیار، سامان بابسه (پاپوش)، کسیال (خوشحال)، کوجا (کوزه)، کانے شماری (خانه شماری)۔

The last of the Dravidian languages, viz., Brahui is ful of Persian words, though derivatively it belongs to a different family. This reveals the truth that the Persian influence is not fundamental but a historical necessity. The literature of Brahui is recent and manifests wider Persian impact than other languages of the group. Its folk songs are quite old and they likewise could not evade Persian influence. Two lines are quoted below :

شوخ شرابی مست آس دلبر، ہم به شکر، بردانگی بے آرامے نبے بے نے آن، ہم به شکر بردانگی

In this song the words بے آرامی و شکر و مست و شربی و شوخ are taken from Persian. They further indicate that Persian poetic symbols were adopted in the Brahui poetry.

Having dealt briefly with the Persian influence on the Dravidian languages, we shall now proceed to its influence on some of the Indo-Aryan languages such as Bengali, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Marathi, Hindi and Urudu.

Bengali :

The origin and the first stage of Bengali language cannot be dated earlier than the 9th century. A new era dawned in Bengali

literature with the appearance of Muslims in Bengal. The people witnessed a new transformation in their society, culture and language during the many centuries of Muslim rule there. The court language being Persian, it extended its area of influence in every walk of Bengali life. The other facts responsible for the great impact of Persian on Bengali are as follows:

1. A large number of Persian classics were translated into Bengali such as *Yusuf-Zulaikha, Laila-Majnun, Sikandarnama, Haft-Paikar, Shahnama, Tutinama, Rubaiyat-i-Khayyam, Pandnama, Tazkiratul Aulia, Gulistan, Bostan,* Diwan-i-Hafiz and a host of other important Persian books.

2. The Hindus and Muslims were so closely associated that they worshipped a mixed god called Satya-Pir who subsequently found his place in the Bengali literature, and the poems written in his praise contained an appreciable number of Persian vocabulary.

3. A number of Muslim poets and writers such as Qazi Dulat, Saiyid Alaul and others appeared on the scene of Bengali and their compositions naturally contained more Perso-Arabic vocabulary than others.

4. A group of modern Muslim story-writers such as Mohammad Abid, Abid Ali, Ejazud-Din, Inayatullah Sarkar, Qurban Ali and others, used a large number of Persian words in their writings and consequently their style of writing came to be known as Musalmani Bangla.

5. Modern poets like Nazrul Islam contributed much to the Persian influence not only on the Bengali language but also on its poetry. He has writen on many topics which compelled him to use Persian cultural terminology. He is the foremost among poets to have used Persian symbols and adopted some of its verse-forms.

6. Many administrative and official terms were included in Bengali. Some of the titles which are retained as family names, were in vogue during the Muslim rule e.g., سرکار، مجموعه دار = موجمدار، قانونگو etc.

7. Bengali is very close to Persian and Dr. Ata Karim Barq who has obtained a doctorate from the Tehran University on the influence of Persian on Bengali has supplied a number of basic words and phrases and even short sentences, which are similar to Bengali phonologically and semantically.

The second part of Dr. Barq's thesis is based on a critical study of Persian influence on Bengali language in respect of the following points:

(i) Persian vocabulary in Bengali

(ii) Phonetical changes that occurred in Persian loan-words in Bengali

(iii) Impact of Persian on Bengali idioms and proverbs. Dr. Barq has collected about 9,000 Bengali idioms and proverbs more than 1,000 of which, according to his estimate, have been influenced by Persian.

Lastly, I shall mention two poets of celebrity viz., Mukundaram (16th century) and Bharat Chandra (18th century). Both of them made frequent use of Perso-Arabic words in their writings. The latter attempted to devise a mixed language composed of Persian, Sanskrit and Bengali. He was writing a drama in this newly devised language but could not complete it.

Kashmiri :

Kashmiri has been influenced more by Persian than any other language of India, perhaps second to Urdu only. Kashmir had developed contacts with Iran even before its conquest by the Arabs. The post-Muslim Persian influence on the cultural life of Kashmir began with the establishment of the Shah Mir dynasty in the middle of the 14th century A.D. which produced such an illustrious monarch as Sultan Zainul Abidin (1420-1474). During the latter's reign the cultural contacts between Iran and Kashmir increased and strengthened. A number of poets and scholars migrated from Iran and Transoxiana to Kashmir and permanently settled there. During his rule Persian was made the official language which resulted in widening the area of its influence on the life of the people. Zainul Abidin was himself a poet and a writer and a great patron of men of learning. At his instance were written numerous books in Persian on various subjects including science, philosophy and medicine. Under his liberaral patronage a number of Sanskrit works were translated into Persian and vice-versa. Zainul Abidin was also interested in the reorientation of Kashmir art and crafts and with this end in view he sent his own artists to Samarqand where they specialised in book craft. On their return they developed the art of book-binding and

paper-making in Kashmir.

When Kashmir was added to the dominon of Akbar, its contact with India grew stronger which resulted in the popularisation of Persian in Kashmir.

The history of the Kashmiri language does not go to a very remote past. The development and prosperity of this language and its literature took place during the period when the influence of Persian in Kashmir had shown signs of decline. But the impact of Persian on the cultural life of Kashmir during about 300 years of Muslim rule had been so great that, this language could not remain unaffected. As the poets and writers of Kashmiri were bilingual, it was quite natural on their part to introduce those very themes to Kashmiri which they had already reproduced in Persian. This was a situation quite similar to one in which Urdu developed and progressed. This is why in respect of Persian influence Urdu and Kashmiri are similar.

Persian influence on Kashmiri is not merely of lexical nature. Kashmiri Grammar has also been influenced by it. Persian *Izafat* is freely used in Kashmiri. Rules of word-formatives are also similar. Persian idioms and proverbs both in original and translation have found their way in it and Persian prepositions and conjunctions and even adverbs are occasionally used in this language.

The significant impact is traceable on Kashmiri literature especially poetry. The important forms of Kashmiri verse are Ghazal, Qasida, Qita and Mathnawi and they have all been taken from Persian. The Persian allusions and references and symbols and rules of Persian prosody have been adopted in Kashmiri poetry. The Kashmiri ghazal resembles Persian ghazal in respect of theme and subject matter, though certain it is that the former does not reach that height of sublimity for Persian ghazal is chiefly noted. The Kashmiri poets follow the same principles which govern Persian metre and rhyme system especially in Ghazal and Mathnawi. Kashmiri Sufi poets follow in the foot steps of the great mystic poets of Persia whose works have been translated into Kashmiri. In short in theme, in diction, in rhyme and metre Kashmiri poetry is very close to Persian and in this respect Persian impact on Kashmiri is much greater than on any other language, of course Urdu is an exception. At the end I shall quote one

specimen each of Kashmiri Ghazal and Mathnawi:

در دانه استھ بے خبر مرجان د پان جھی
خورشید رویس کج نظر پدمان دبان جھی

یم قبہ سینکی ڈیشہ و نہن دبہ پھران دل
انار شیرین ونہ دو پستان دپان جھی

قد چون ڈیشتھ ویر برھمان تیر گژھان خم
شمشاد سیمین سرو خرامان دبان جھی

شوبان روخ چو قندہ ھارج زون ذن تابان
خوبان عالم، ماہ مہربان دپان جھی

Following is a specimen of a Mathnawi in which the سراپا of the beloved has been depicted :

سراپاتس جھ رعنا دل فریبا
زیبا تا سر جھ سے مہتاب زیبا

جبناچینہ روس آینہ شقاق
نہ چینہ جورہ تنتھ ماچینہ نشہ طاق

مسلمان رویہ موے نا مسلمان
برو کعبہ بہ مو در کافرستان

کمان ابرو مژہ تیر چشم بادام
بہ مَر م قتل مردم مویہ کنہ دام

بمعو سنبل برو گل بالب مل
بہ دندان در بہ خندش ھندہ بلبل

اسن تمی سند کھسن ذن آفتاباہ
لعاب تمی سند بمارن زن شوراباہ

زبان زمزم، دھان دمدم ھونگنی ناگ
بیان کم کم و تان کم کم سو خن راگ

Punjabi :

Punjabi was developed in the Punjab which had been the most important centre of Persian learning and culture for more than eight centuries. It is quite obvious that the period of the development of Punjabi synchronised with the period of the decline of Persian influence on the Punjab. Despite this it was impossible on the part of Punjabi language and literature to remain unaffected by Persian especially when the whole atmosphere was still surcharged, though in a lesser degree, with Persian influences. The significant factors responsible for the Persian impact on Punjabi are as follows:

(i) Translation of Persian classics into Punjabi ;

(ii) Most of the early writers of Punjabi were Muslims who grew up and were trained in Persian atmosphere.

(iii) Some of the Punjabi poets were also poets of Persian and consequently their composition in Punjabi amounted to an unconscious attempt to bring these two languages closer to each other. Through them Persian literary traditions made their free access in Punjabi literature.

A critical study of the Punjabi stories of Sassi-Pannu, Hir-Ranjha and Sohini- Mahiwal which have borrowed their themes from Muslim environment would show how great was the influence of Persian on Punjabi.

One may doubt the authenticity of Punjabi poems attributed to Baba Farid Ganjshakar of Multan, but Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana holds them to be genuine. However it is almost certain that the Persian loan-words available in these poems are not recent introductions into Punjabi. Some of these words have undergone semantic and phonetical changes. A few are quoted below :

ملك، جند (زنده)، پرسلات (پل صراط)، درویسی، دنیان، گری وان، مر گ، دور، سکر، ساکھ (شاخ)، سیطان، کوجرّا (کوزه) نوات (نبات)، سلطان (سلطان)، درواجا (دروازه)، سیکھ (شیخ) تن، بار، مسائك (مشایخ)، کاگد (کاغذ)، دل، دربار، بے نواجا (بی نمازا)، ساج (ساز)۔

The most significant record for determining Persian influence on Punjabi is the Guru Granth Sahib, the Holy Book of the Sikhs. This sacred scripture is full of Perso-Arabic vocabulary which testifies to Baba Nanak and the early Sikh Guru's scholarship in Arabic and Persian and also their contact with Muslims. In the *Japji* Baba Nanak says :

کیو سچیاران هوئیئے کیو کوڑے تٹے پال   حکم رجائی چلناں نانك لکھیا نال

(رجائی = رضائی)

گاوے کو جاپے دسے دور   گاوے کو دیکھے هادرا هدور

(هادر = حاضر؛ هدور = حضور)

جنی نام دھایا گئے مسقت نال   (مسقت = مشقت)

کھت ترسی مکه بولنا مارن ناد گئے   (ترسی = ترشی)

Similarly words like ذات، نظر، شمار، سینه، تر کش، تیر، کمان، بد فعلی، روز، پاتشاه، غائبانه etc. are frequently used in this book. At a few places in the *Guru Granth,* such lines are found as are composed of mostly Perso-Arabic vocabulary. The following instances from the book will illustrate the point :

پیر، پیگامبر، سالك، صادق، شهدے اور شهید

شیخ، مشائخ، قاضی، ملا اور درویش رشید

صدق صبوری صادق صبر توسه ملا یکان

صدق کر سجده من کر مقصود   جیدھر دیکھتا، تیدھر موجود

قدرت هے قیمت نه پاے   جاقیمت پاے، کہی نه جاے

مهر معیت صدق مصلی حق حلال قرآن   سرم سیت سلت روجا هوه مسلمان

Some times Persian verses without its metre, with one or two Punjabi words are available in this scripture, for example:

یك عرض گفتم پیش تو در گوش کن کرتار   حقا کبیر کریم تو بے عیب پروردگار

دنیـــاں مــقـــام فــانـی تـحقیـق دل دانـی — هم سر موی عزرائیل گرفت دل هیچ ندانی
زن بسر پدر برادران کس نیست دستگیر — آخـر بیفتـم کـــس ندارد جون شود تکبیر
شب و روز گشتم در هوا کردم بدی خیال — گاهی نه نیکی کار کردم هم این چنین احوال
بدبخت همچو بخیل غافل بے نظر بے باك — نانك بگوید جن ترا ترے چاکراں پرخاك

Marathi :

With the establishment of the Bahmani dynasty in the Deccan the contacts of Hindus and Muslims grew very rapidly. The adoption of Persian as the court language by the Bahmanis and after their downfall by the Adilshahis, Qutbashahis and Nizamshahis, coupled with the propagation of Persian culture in the region resulted in extending the area of Persian influence in every walk of the cultural life of the people including their language-Marathi. Dr. Abdul Haq in his treatise has given illustrations to show historically how the Persian influence has been in progress in Marathi and the result has been summed up as follows :

1290-1390 A.D. - No influence
1390-1656 A.D. - Persian influence increasing consistently
1656-1728 A.D. - Progress stopped.
1728-1818 A.D. - Progress static.

He quotes a passage from a 13th century Marathi poet, which contains no Persian word. Then follows an inscription from a temple in Kolaba district (Bombay) dated 769 A.H. 1289 Salbahan Sambat which contains two words جمعیت and ساز گار a few Muslim names and the Hijra era. Then is given a quotation from a 17th century poet (of modern Aurangabad) which is an imaginary memorandom beginning with :

عرضداشت عرض دار بند گی بنده نواز علیکم سلام

It contains words like قلعه کایا پوری، صاحب، کار کن، شیکهدار (شقدار) حرام زاده، زمیندار، مذکور، سوار، دروبست، چوبدار، زبردست، تمام، (Persian قیاس (اضافت، پروانگی etc.

A letter by Raja Ankush Rao written in 1576 A.D. to one of his officials begins thus :

از رخت خانهٔ راجے شری انکوش راو راجے گوساوی بجانب کار کنانی تب کهیرٓ ، باری بداند سروسیت بعین، تسع مائة دیش مکهانی الخ

It contains besides a number of Perso-Arabic vocabulary, Persian *Izafat*, Persian verbs, Arabic number, Pesian plural form

(e.g. دیشمکهان)

There is an important historical document in the form of a letter by Malik Ambar to a prohits of Shahji, the father of Shivaji, with equivalent Arabic date in words. The letter is full of Persian words and its ratio with Marathi words is 5:2. A few lines will show the nature of the influence :

از دیوان رخت خانۂ خاص بجانب کارکنان و دیسمکهان پرگنۂ پونا مقاسائیان و عہدہ داران از هتی حال و استقبال و مقدمان موضع دیول گاوں نزدیك آئے گنو قریاتی پاتس پتیل مذکور بداند۔

The use of Persian verbs, prepositions, conjunctions and Izafat in addition to Persian vocabulary, gives this passage a Persian appearance rather than Marathi. Even Shivaji Mahraj who was against the tendency of using freely the Perso- Arabic words in Marathi could not resist the influence and one of his short letter contains such words as

جمع، سلك، جنس ، نامزد، چشم، مذکور، باقی، وضع، راس، درماه، تعینات مجراه موافق، باب، کاغذ، ادا، ماه در ماه

The above illustrations reveal the nature of Persian influence on Marathi which has not confined to vocabulary alone. Persian influence on Marathi grammar was no less salient, this may be summed up a follows :

(i) In Marathi as in other Indian languages noun is preceded by an adjective. But under Persian influence some times the case is just the reverse e.g.,

پنڈت مشارنلے (مشار" الیه)، راواعظم، انگری وزارت مآب گائیکوار، سکندر ثانی لا(لا = را)، پنڈت مشارنلهیس (هیس علامت مفعول)

(ii) Occasional Persian *Izafat* and prepositions are available in official correspondence such as

،شهر پونا، بندر دابهوں، قلعه راے گڑه (هر = در) در روز، در دیوس

(iii) Persian conjunctions, interjections, adverbs, and even a few pronouns are found in these examples :

، بس، هان، یا، بلکه، مگر، البت، همیش، بلاشك، بے شك، هر یك، کهد (خود)، هر همیش

(iv) The formation of adjectives and nouns by adding" (ی)" to nouns and adjectives is the result of the Persian impact.

، بهادری، میتری، کاراگری، ڈگری (بتهریلا)، بهائی بندی دونگڑی

etc. (پہاڑی)
In some case 'گـی' is added, while in Persian it is confined to such words as end in final 'h'(هـاے غیر ملفوظ) Examples of such nouns are these :

شاباشکی، مادھار کی، بداگی بھوشار کی، etc.

(v) The Persian prefixes and suffixes are used in formation of words such as :
بے ڈھب، بے ڈول، بے تال، غیر سوے، غیر سمجھ، ناپیك، کرتب کار، ساھتگار گلام گری، سجھردان، دیپ دان، دھندے وار، پالیگار، گھڑیال جی، ھتی خانه مہینے وار etc.

(vi) Even some of the اسم فاعل are formed according to Persian rules such as :
پگار دار، ایٹ دار، کاوے باز، چین باز، پیلدار، بھانڈ خور، ادھل خور etc.

(vii) Such Marathi compounds as ٹھوکا ٹھوك، ھانکا ھانك ٹوٹا ٹوٹ have been inflenced in their construction by the Persian rule as is found in رنگا رنگ، ھزا ھز، دوا دو

(viii) Some Marathi words are formed by using Persian conjunction و as راتورات، بھار و بھار etc.

(ix) Construcdon of words by combining Perso-Arabic words with Marathi reveals Persian influence, e.g., انگ محنت، انگ زور، چر خرچ، زمین اتین etc.

(x) A number of Marathi idioms are Persian translations such as :

شپتھ کھانے = قسم خوردن
ھانك مارنے = بانگ زدن
رسته دینے = راه دادن
تہمت کھینے = تہمت زدن
دوستی ٹھیونے = دوستی داشتن
جیر کرنے = زیر کردن
صحبت ٹھیونے = صحبت داشتن
ھاتھ دینے = دست دادن
کمرباندھنے = کمر بستن

Marathi in its turn made some phonological and semantic changes in a number of Perso-Arabic words. Some examples are

these :

اگر or
عدل lesson
آمدنی time or period
اتراجی unpleasantness
عبرت influence
ارسال very good
امیدوار youth
کتبه document

All this is true of Marathi prose only. Marathi poetry remained aloof from the court and hence it bears no signs of Persian impact on it.

Hindi :

The history of Hindi literature during the three conturies preceding Kabir (1398-5-8) is obscure. *Prithvi Raj Rasu* a bardic poem of Rajasthan is ascribed to the period of Prithviraj but it has been proved to be the work of a much later date. Similarly the claim that the *Bisal Dus Rasu* belongs to the 12th century, does not hold good. Probably the first authentic record is the *Chandayan*, the love story of Chanda and Lorak composed by Maulana Daud in the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq in 779 A.H. about which Badayuni has supplied the following information :

کتاب چندائن را که مثنوی است بزبان هندوی در بیان عشق لورک و چاندا --- و الحق خیلی حالت بخش است، مولانا داؤد بنام او (جوناشه) نظم کرده و از نهایت شهرت درین دیار احتیاج به تعریف ندارد- مخدوم شیخ تقی الدین واعظ ربانی در دهلی بعضی ابیات تقریبی اورا بر بزمی خواند و مردم را از استماع آن، حالت غریبه روی داد الخ

The poem which is in Avadhi dialect contains a few Perso-Arabic words. Some lines are quoted below :

برس سات سے ھونے اناس — تهیا یه کبی سر سے بها سی
ساه پهیروج ولی سرطانا — جونا ساه و جیر بکهانا
دلمئو نگر بسے نورنگا — اوبر کوٹ تهے بهے گنگا
هندو ترك دؤ سم راکهیں — ست جو هونے ڈهونڈه کهنه بها کیں
گنو سنگهه اك پتهی رینگاویں — ایك گهاٹ دو هوں بانی پیاویں
داؤد کب جو چاندا گائی — جیں رسنا سو کا مرجهائی

Even the such words have undergone phonological change,

e.g., ساه is شاد، بیهروج is فیروز, وجیر is وزیر , سرطانا is سلطان. The word ولی has been incorporated with no change. This story of Lurak and Chanda subsequently became popular and a number of Bhaka poets attempted to versify it of whom one Sadhan is very significant whose *Minasat* is based on the *Chandayan* version.

Quite naturally Persian vocabularies in the writings of Muslim Sufi poets of Bhaka are much larger. The works of Qutban, Manjhan, Malik Muhammad Ja'isi and even Nur Muhammad may be quoted by way of illustration. Ja'isi at times uses Persian and Arabic words more copiously spcially while praising religious personalities which however cannot be taken as his representative style, for special occasion warranted an altogether different atmosphere. Nevertheless there is no doubt that the poets of Braj resisted the temptation of enriching their diction by Perso-Arabic vocabularies.

It is stated that the court-poets from the time of Akbar to the death of Muhammad Shah had been much under the influence of Persian. A study of the writings of Gang, Manohar, Keshav, Chintamani, Dev, Das, Padmakar, Ganganand and Thakur would reveal that there are more Persian loan-words in their writings than in those of Muslim poets such as Alam, Rahim, Rasleen and others. The poets at the courts of Hindu Rajas were more enamoured of Persian than ever those at the Mughal Court. For example Bhushan had a wider vocabulary than Bihari, Dev and Padmakar.

In *Khariboli* we find a more liberal use of Perso-Arabic words in preference to colloquial vocabularies which was a special feature of Braj Bhasha., as the growth of *Khariboli* literature synchronised with the growth of Urdu, we find a growing tendency among the *Khariboli* writers to enrich their diction by Persian loan-words and the writings of Deoki Nadan Khatri and Balkrishna Bhatt bear a testimony to this. During early 20th century, Hindi fiction writers tended to use more Persian words than others. The works of Prem Chand and others amply testify to it.

Persian influence on Hindi may be studied from various stand-points : lexical, formatives, idioms and literary.

History of Persian loan-words in Hindi has few parallels in the world of linguistics. The loan-words included nouns, adjectives,

prefixes and suffixes adverbs, conjunctions, interjection and even infinitives. Occasionally Persian rules of number are also employed in Hindi.

Persian vocabulary is composed of words appertaining to every walk of Indian life. Culture, religion, administration, military, judiciary; articles of daily use, clothes, utensils, furniture, ornaments, sweets dishes, varieties of meals, drinks, fruits, vegetables, etc.,-professional loan-words used in tailoring, carpentary, masonary, gardening, horsemanship, agriculture, medical science, diseases, painting, music, games and sports etc. As a matter of fact the impact of Persian is so great and extensive that there can be no sphere where this influence is not conspiceously discernible.

I shall refer now to some grammatical writings of Deokinadan Khatri and Balkrishna Bhatt-showing the influence of Persian on Hindi which is equally applicable to Urdu as well :

1. A large number of adjectives are borrowed from Persian and the abstract nouns formed therefrom are commonly used such as :

گندہ , بڑائی and بڑا , برابری and برابر , بہادری and بہادر ,آبادی and آباد and گندگی ,کم and کمی etc.

Even adjectives formed from nouns are common such as :

ضدی from قیمت , قیمتی from نقل , نقلی from اصل , اصلی from ضد etc.

2. Persian abstract nouns are frequently used such as مسالش, نالش ,آمیزش , آلایش ,خواهش ,بارش , گفتگو ,سوزش ,سپارش etc.

On this pattern has been formed the Hindi word رهایش.

3. Infinitive have been formed from Persian and Arabic words such as شرمانا , بدلنا , فرمانا , گذرنا , لرزنا ,تراشنا ;خریدنا , آزمانا etc.

4. Persian prepositions, adverbs and advertial phrases are used freely e.g.,

روبرو , پس , بابت , هوبهو , همیشه , بیشك , بجز , بغیر , بجاے etc.

5. Formation of words like سر بھرا , دماغ چلا ,دل جلا , مٹر گشت , کمر جھکا is a peculiar feature of Hindi but even this could not escape from Persian influence.

6. The Persian اسم مفعول in words like رجسٹری شدہ , نتھی شدہ , شادی شدہ etc. is on the pattern of آفت زدہ and ستم رسیدہ .

7. Such compounds as دھما چوکڑی , کھینچا تانی , ریلا پیل , دھینگا مشتی , کڑاکڑ , بوندا بوندی , بھاگا بھاگ , مارا مار are formed under Persian influence.

8. Persian prefixes and suffixes are quite common in Hindi such as

'دان' in خانہ , سرمہ دانی , مچھردانی , سنگاردان , اگالدان , پیکدان , پاندان
and سار in بھنڈ سار , کھنڈ سار , چنڈو خانہ , تاڑی خانہ , پاگل خانہ , چھاپہ خانہ etc.

چی (from Persian چہ) in چلمچی , صحنچی , صندوقچی , ڈولچی etc.

بے in بے سوا , بے ڈول , بے ڈھب etc.

بہ in بنام , بقلم etc.

نا in ناکارہ , نالایق etc.

بلا in بلاسبب , بلاوجہ etc.

ہم in ہمجولی etc.

9. اسم فاعل is formed on the pattern of Persian as in جوڑی گر , بڑھئی گیر , (C.F. بڑھئی گیری) , جانکار , کلا کار . The other forms of اسم فاعل are also common such as:

منہ توڑ، سر توڑ، تیس مار، مکھی مار، مغز چٹ، پتھر چٹ، کفن کھسوٹ. Some time Persian verbs are combined as in گھڑی ساز، ٹھٹھے باز، دل لگی باز، انکل باز، دھوکہ باز، چوڑی دار etc.

10. Some times مضاف and مضاف الیہ are transposed to form a word on the pattern of Persian as چور دروازہ، منہ زور، راج محل etc.

11. According to some scholars formation of noun by adding the suffix ی is the result of Persian influence as in سلائی , دھلائی , مٹھائی , اچھائی , برائی etc. The یائے لیاقت which is very common in Persian as in گفتنی , شدنی etc. have caused to form such words as کرنی , بھرنی , انہونی , ھونی etc.

The phonetic system of Persian favourably agrees with that of Hindi except that فا , زا , خا and غا sounds are not available in the latter system. But these have in some cases been adopted in Hindi. The same is the case with Arabic sound 'قـــا' which had long been adopted in Persian. 'Sh' sound was not new to Indo-Aryan but at the Prakrit stage, it was changed into 'S' which was again revived in

Hindi due to Persian influence on it. Some other sounds as بـا and ڑا were also standardised in Hindi under Persian influence.

A very interesting and important aspect of Persian influence in Hindi is noticeable in its usage of idioms and proverbs. The symbolic use of words which is an important aspect in the formation of idioms is a typically Persian influence. The majority of Hindi idioms are either composed of Arabic-Persian words or are direct translation from Persian. Idiomatic usage is one of the elements which had made the Persian language sweet and popular thereby extending the area of its influence on Indian languages. A few examples of Hindi translation of Persian idioms are as follows:

سر آمدن = سر آنا
سررفتن = سرجانا
قسم خوردن = سوگندہ کہانا
نام دادن = نام دینا
زبان کشودن = زبان کہولنا
راز کشودن = بھید کھولنا
از پوست بر آوردن = پول کھولنا
باد شدن = ہوا ہونا ، ہوا ہوجانا
آرزو کردن = اچھا کرنا
گوش دادن = کان دھرنا
حرف گرفتن = بات پکڑنا
شرط بستن = شرط باندھنا
نام نہادن = نام رکھنا

Impact on literature :

The most popular form in Persian is ghazal and it was but natural that Hindi could not resist its temptation. The impact may not be very deep but sporadic attempts are not rare. Tulsi and Kabir have composed a few ghazals. Rahim, Sudan and Shital also made an attempt in this direction. In modern times quite a sizeable number of poets composed ghazals, amongst whom the names of Pratap Narain Misra, Ayodhya Singh Upadhyaya, Lala Bhagwan Din, Nirala and Shamsher may be cited by way of illustration. Some poets have imitated Rubai of whom Nathuram Shankar Sharma (1859-1918) deserves mention. Bachchan has successfully produced Rubais in Hindi on the model of Khayyam. Mathnawi remained a model for Sufi poets in Hindi from the earliest times.

Likewise the love ballads of the 17th and 18th centuries were written in the form of Persian Mathnawi.

Occasionally Persian metres also were adopted by Hindi poets. The following poets are stated to have written under the influence of Persian metre:
Pratap Narain Misra; Sridhar Pathak; Ayodhya Singh Upadhya; Balmukund Gupta; Lalal Bhagwan Din and Nirala.

The Persian impact is clearly noticeable in Hindi mystic poetry produced by both the Muslim and Hindu poets. Some lines of Kabir are quoted below to show this impact on his poetry:

کبیرا اپنی نوبت دس دن لیؤ بجایے	ہر کسی پنج روز نوبت اوست
کبیرا سریر سرایے ہے، کیا سویے سکھ چین	چہ بندی تو دل بر سرای فسوس
سانس نگارہ کوچ کا، باجت ہے دن رین	کہ ہر زمان ہمی آید آوای کوس

Urdu :

Urdu language is not very much different from Hindi so far as its basic grammar is concerned. Born in and around Delhi, it was based on the grammar and phonetical system of *Khariboli*, Urdu borrowed extensively from Persian words, phrases, poetical forms and themes. But it amply accommodated itself with Hindu and Muslim traditions and had among its votaries persons of all creeds and communities. Urdu literature first developed in the Deccan and its pioneers were the Sufis who preached their sermons in the language of the people. Some of them had gone from Northern India to preach their gospal there. Among this class of Sufis the name of Gesu Daraz is very prominent. Other Dakhani Sufi who contributed largely to the development of early Urdu were Ali Gamdhani, Shamsul Ushaq, Burhanud Din Janam and Aminuddin Ala. Some of their disciples were conspicious in the progress of Urdu. Ashraf, the author of *Nausar-bar*, is one of them. This mathnawi composed in 909 A.H. 1504 is one of the earliest compositions in Urdu. Later on numerous poets appeared in Golcunda, Aurangabad, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Gulburga. Among them were the rulers of Qutbshahi and Adilshahi dynasties.

From the Deccan the impulses came to the North and it was here that Urdu literature grew to its natural stature. A host of poets who were men of genius appeared on the scene of Urdu poetry and subsequently various centres of Urdu developed in Northern

India at Delhi, Lucknow, Azimabad (Patna) etc. Among the brilliant stars of note were Mir Taqi Mir, Mirza Rafi Sauda, Khwaja Mir Dard, Momin, Ghalib and others. Hindus too made equally valuable contribution to the development of Urdu literature. Among them Wali Ram Wali, Jagwant Rai Munshi, Nawal Rai Wafa, Daya Ram Pandit, Khub Chand Zaka, Bindra Ban Raqim and many other have left deep impress on Urdu Poetry.

Persian exercised tremendous influence on Urdu language and literature. We have seen that hundreds of Persian words of all class found their way into Hindi. As the grammar in Hindi and Urdu is basically the same, details of Persian influence on Hindi are equally applicable to Urdu as well. In early stages of both Hindi and Urdu, Persian influence was not so deep, but with the passage of time this impact became deeper and it is in respect of this impact that Urdu came to be distinguished from Hindi. From the lexical stage to the level of Persian impact on Urdu prose and poetry, the latter is more influenced than Hindi on following points:

1. The use of genitive (اضافت). In Persian the اضافت is denoted by a کسره below the مضاف or موصوف e.g., وقت خوش , شعر خوب , قابل داد , صاحب سخن etc. This has not been fully adopted in Hindi; in Urdu on the other hand it is as popular as in Persian, especially in poetry. In a few cases the Persian plural form has been adopted so as to make a room for Persian *Izafat* as in مژهای دراز , گلهای ناز etc. It must be noted that the Arabic sign of genitive "ال" which was in vogue in Persian for long was borrowed in Urdu in combinations like حسب الفرمایش، حسب الفرموده، قریب المرگ etc.

2. The Persian conjunction واو is so common specially in Urdu poetry in compounds like : خدو خال، پیچ و تاب، آب و تاب، شیخ و شباب، کروفر، سروپا، آب و رنگ etc.

3. The Persian اسم فاعل مرخم is no doubt used in Hindi but not so commonly as in Urdu which would accept all the Persian words of this class unhesitatingly.

4. Persian اسم مفعول is rarely used in Hindi but it is very common in Urdu as in ساخته , آمیخته , گذشته , رفته , پرداخته etc.

5. The Persian adjectives are used in Hindi but degrees are unknown to it. The impact of Persian on Urdu both in respect of abundance of Persian adjectives as well as the degrees such as

خوبترین، خوبتر، خوشترین، خوشتر، کمترین، کمتر is quite abvious.

6. Persian اسم حالیہ is rarely used in Hindi but it is quite common in Urdu as in افتاں، لرزاں، گریاں خنداں، خیزاں etc. But its use is more common in poetry than in prose.

7. Persian prepositions in compounds like بغور، بکثرت، دراصل، علاوہ بریں، مشتملبر، بیش از بیش، پے در پے، دم بدم، برسبیل تذکرہ، درحقیقت، تہ بتہ، قدم بقدم are very common in Urdu, though some of them are occasionally found in Hindi as well.

8. The Arabic تنوین denoting adverb which has been so much in use in Persian was adopted indirectly in Urdu in words like فوراً، کنایۃً، مثلاً، یقیناً، عادۃً، اصلاً، نسبۃً، مقابلۃً، حقیقۃً، مختصراً، اختصاراً، خصوصاً، اشارۃً، اولاً، ثانیاً، ثالثاً، رابعاً، ایماناً، ابتداءً، ضرورۃً، ایضاً etc. On the same pattern نمونۃً and اندازاً are Urdu innovation, not found in Arabic and Persian.

9. A number of Arabic and Persian plural forms are common in urdu e.g. Persian Plurals:

سالہا سال، مژہای دراز، سخت جانیہا، ہزارہا، صدہا، والیان، فرمانروایان، صاحبان، ارکان، صاحبزادگان، خواجگان، پس ماندگان، بندگان۔

Arabic Plurals :

شعراء، حکما، فضلا، وکلا، جرائد، فواید، قصاید، وجوہ، ملل، امم، کائنات، حالت، صوفیہ، عرفا، علما، رسایل، اقوام، سامعین، مسلمین، ناظرین، کتب، تسلیمات، خیرات، حسنات، فقرات، علل خیالات۔

And on this pattern are : بیگمات، باغات، خواتین، گزارشات، فرمایشات، آلایشات، فرامین etc.

It has been contended that what is passed for Arabic influence is nothing but Persian in so much as the plural form in مسلمین، سامعین، مصلحین، حاکمین، مومنین , used in the nominative case is a Persian innovation which was subsequently adopted in Urdu as well. The use of جمع الجمع as in وجوہات is indicative of Persian influence, for Persian writers have at times added ھا or آن to Arabic plurals as in اسرارھا، الحانہا، انجمہا، ایوانہا، عشاقان، اوتادان، ملوکان , etc.

10. In respect of agreement of adjectives with nouns, the Persians have not only adopted the Arabic system as in حرمین شریفین، والدۂ محترمہ، ارشادات عالیہ etc., but have also given a new touch to it in respect of two points:

(i) In the case of تثنیہ (dual) the Arabic nominative case has

been substituted by objective (as we have seen in the case of plural).

(ii) The Arabic ۃ has been changed into final 'h' (ھای مختفی) with all its implications.

In Urdu these two modifications have been incorporated without any change, which points to Persian impact on it.

Now let us proceed to the examination of Persian influence on Urdu literature. The above discussion may reveal that urdu poetry has been influenced more by Persian than Urdu prose. The impact of Persian on Urdu poetry may be studied vis-a-vis the following points:

1. All verse forms prevalent in Persian have been adopted in Urdu with very little modification. The *qasida*, the *ghazal*, the *mathnawi*, the *rubai*, the *tarjiband* the *tarkib-band* the *Musaddas*, the *musallas* have all been taken from Persian. The *qasida* has its origin in Arabic but Urdu *qasida* writers followed the Persian model. The three main forms of Persian poetry namely *ghazal, mathnawi,* and *rubai* were taken up in Urdu with very little or no modifications.

2. As a consequence of the above in the adoption of the Persian metre-system which is no doubt of Arabic origin, Urdu has the impact of Persian rather than that of Arabic. Some new experiments are no doubt being tried in Urdu, but it is not a peculiarity of this language alone. Instances of such experiments are quite common in various other eastern literatures including Persian.

3. The rhyme-system has very much significance in Persian poetry. All the rules governing the Persian poetry in respect of قوافی have been adopted in Urdu, perhaps with very little or no modification. Similarly Urdu follows the poetics of Persian, though the latter had in its own turn borrowed it from Arabic.

4. Urdu has adopted almost all the pre-Islamic Persian allusions of Prophets, Heroes, Kings, Warriors etc. directly from Persian. They are Keumars, Hushang, Jamshid, Zahhak, Feridun, Kawa, Iraj, Tur, Garshasp, Kai Kaikaus, Kaiqubad, Kaikhusrau, Siaush, Afrasiyab, Darab, Dariush, Ardshir, Bahram, Anusherwan, Khusrau Parwiz, Mani, Mazdak, Zardasht, Avesta, Zand, Izad, Ahraman, Sarosh, Nauroz, Mehrgan, Gabr, Mobad, Mobad-i-Mobadan, Herbed, Sam, Rustam, Zal, Sohrab, Rakhsh, Bahman,

Barzu, Godraz, Bezan, Manizha, Shirin, Farhad, Shabdiz, Gulgun, Khusrau's treasue-houses, Golden orange (ترنج زر), soft gold طلای دست افشار Barbad, Bisatun, Atashkada etc. A few examples of Urdu verses are quoted below:

بھائے خود دار تو مانند سکندر ہوئے
اسی میں حفاظت ہے انسانیت کی
محبت خویشتن بینی، محبت خویشتن داری
اس مرد خود آگاہ و خدا دوست کی صحبت
کوھکن گرسنہ مزدور طربگاہ رقیب
شرار سنگ سے پا در حنا گلگون شیرین ہے
حسن کا گنج گرانمایہ تجھے مل جاتا
رھے نہ ایبك و غوری کے معرکے باقی

پھر جہاں میں ہوس شوکت دارائی کر
کہ ہوں اك جنیدی و اردشیری
محبت آستان قیصرو کسری سے بے پروا
دیتی ہے گداؤں کو شکوہ جم و پرویز
بیستون آئینۂ خواب گران شیرین
ہوز اے تیشۂ فرھاد عرض آتشین پائی
تونے فرھاد! نہ کھودا کبھی ویرانۂ دل
ھمیشہ تازہ و شیرین ہے نغمۂ خسرو

A large number of allusious other than those mentioned above have also been taken from Persian e.g.,

وامق عذرا، لیلی و مجنون، فرعون، موسی، ید بیضا، دجلہ و فرات، دریابے نیل، مکر زلیخا، گرگ، حسن یوسف، دم عیسوی، ایمن، بیت احزان، حزن یعقوب، صبر ایوب، کنعان، برادران یوسف، کلیم، طورسینا، بازار مصر etc.

5. The theme of Persian ghazal and its symbols are common to Persian and Urdu both. The *ghazal* covers a very wide field of human feelings and activities. Each and every line of a *ghazal* translates a human sentiment in an attractive manner in terms of its symbols which are large such as بادہ و ساغر، ساقی و مغبچہ، نرگس و سنبل، حریف، میکدہ، پیرمغان، گل و بلبل، سوسن و بنفشہ، ذرہ و آفتاب، ابرو، چشم، سرو، شمشاد، سرو و قمری، مژگان، گیسو، لب، دندان، رخسار، زلف etc.

Each of them in its turn is compared to so many things which widens extensively the area of its influence. I shall quote a paragraph from the *Ab-e-Hayat* in which a few symbols of *ghazal* have been incorporated in a very beautiful manner. These symbols and traditions have been borrowed from Persian:

رات کو اھل محبت کے جلسے میں ساقی کا آنا واجب ہے۔ اس کی پیشانی اور رخسار سے نور صبح روشن ہے، مگر زلف کی شام بھی برابر مشك افشان ھے۔ صراحی کبھی سرکشی کرتی ہے۔ اس لئے جگر، خون ھو کر ٹپکتا ھے۔ کبھی جھکتی ھے اور خندۂ قلقل سے ھنستی ھے، کبھی وھی قل قل حق ھو کر یاد

الھی میں صرف ھوتی ھے۔ مگر پیالہ اپنے کھلے منہ سے ھنستا ھے اور اس کے آگے دامن پھیلاتا ھے۔ فلک تیر حوادث کا ترکش لئے کمان کھنچان لگائے کھڑا ھے۔ مگر عاشق کا تیر آہ اس کے سینے کے پار ھو جاتا ھے۔ پھر زحل منحوس کی آنکھ نہیں پھوٹتی کہ عاشق کی صبح مراد روشن ھو۔ یہاں کی محفل میں شمع برقع فانوس میں تاج سر پر رکھے کھڑی ھے، اس لئے پروانے کا آنا بھی واجب ھے۔ چراغ کو ھنسانے ھیں اور شمع کو عاشق کے غم میں رلاتے ھیں۔ وہ باوفا عشق کے غم میں سراپا جلتی ھے۔ اس کی چربی گھل گھل کر بہتی، مگر پاے استقامت اس کا نہیں ٹلتا، یہاں تک کہ سفیدۂ سحری کبھی آکر کافور دیتا ھے۔ اور کبھی طباشیر۔ شمع کا دل اس لئے بھی گداز ھے کہ شب زندگی کا دامن بہت چھوٹا ھے، لیکن صبح دونوں کے ماتم میں گریبان چاک کرتی ھے۔

The following Ghazal from Ghalib would truly represent the nature of Persian influence on this form.

مدت ھوئی ھے یار کو مہماں کیے ھوئے
جوش قدح سے بزم چراغاں کیے ھوئے

کرتا ھوں جمع پھر جگر لخت لخت کو
عرصہ ھوا ھے دعوت مژگاں کیے ھوئے

پھر وضع احتیاط سے رکنے لگا ھے دم
برسوں ھوئے ھیں چاک گریباں کیے ھوئے

پھر گرم نالہ ھای شرر بار ھے نفس
مدت ھوئی ھے سیر چراغاں کیے ھوئے

پھر پرسش جراحت دل کو چلا ھے عشق
سامان صد ھزار نمکداں کیے ھوئے

پھر پھر رھا ھے خامۂ مژگاں بخون دل
ساز چمن طرازی داماں کیے ھوئے

باھم دگر ھوئے ھیں دل و دیدہ پھر رقیب
نظارہ و خیال کا ساماں کیے ھوئے

دل پھر طواف کوے ملامت کو جائے ھے
پندار کا صنمکدہ ویراں کیے ھوئے

پھر شوق کر رھا ھے خریدار کی طلب
عرض متاع عقل و دل و جاں کیے ھوئے

دوڑے ھے پھر ھر ایک گل و لالہ پر خیال
صد گلستاں نگاہ کا ساماں کیے ھوئے

پھر چاھتا ھوں نامۂ دلدار کھولنا
جاں نذر دلفریبیٔ عنواں کیے ھوئے

مانگے ھے پھر کسی کو لب بام پر ھوس
زلف سیاہ رخ پہ پریشاں کیے ھوئے

چاھے ھے پھر کسی کو مقابل میں آرزو
سرمہ سے تیز دشنۂ مژگاں کیے ھوئے

ای نوبہار ناز کو تاکے ھے پھر، نگاہ
چہرہ فروغ مے سے گلستاں کیے ھوئے

پھر جی میں ھے کہ در پہ کسی کے پڑے رھیں
سر زیر بار منت درباں کیے ھوئے

جی ڈھونڈتا ھے پھر وھی فرصت کہ رات دن
بیٹھے رھیں تصور جاناں کیے ھوئے

غالب ھمیں نہ چھیڑ کہ پھر جوش اشک سے
بیٹھے ھیں ھم تہیۂ طوفاں کیے ھوئے

6. Urdu literary traditions have been borrowed from Persian. For example in Persian we have a tradition that the burning of the black seed (spand) averts the adverse effect of the evil eye. Hanzala of Balghis, an early poet of Persian, says:

یارب! سپند اگرچه بر آتش همی فگند   از بهر چشم تا نرسد مرد را گزند
اورا سپند و مجمر ناید همی بکار   با روی همچو آتش وبا خال چون سپند

The Urdu poetry has retained this tradition. Zauq says:

میں مجمر فنا میں ہوں کیا دانۂ سپند   کھولے ھے کار بستہ کی میری صدا گرہ

Putting on پیراهن کاغذی or کاغذی جامه by seekers of justice has been abundantly mentioned in Persian poetry. For example Hafiz says :

کاغذین جامه بخوناب بشویم که فلك   ره نمونیم بپای علم داد نکرد

Ghalib says :

پهنے ھے پیرھن کاغذ ابری، نیسان   سہ تنك مایہ ھے فریادی جوش ایثار
نقش، فریادی ھے کس کی شوخی تحریر کا   کاغذی ھے پیرھن ھر پیکر تصویر کا

This is a very brief survey of the tremendous impact of Persian on Indian languages.